

Review THE IMPARTIAL *Book*
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

17 CONTAINING 82.

A Summary Account, of all the Battles, Sieges, Rebel-
lions and Massacres. As also, the Valour and Loy-
alty of the IRISH, and the many Calumnies thrown
on that Country and People, wiped off. Together,
with the most Remarkable Transactions both in
Church and State, since the Reformation.

Law In two PARTS. *Book*

By HUGH REILY, Esq;

To which is annexed.

The Nobility and Gentry of IRELAND's Remonstrance
to King CHARLES the Second, on his Restoration.

Also, the SPEECH and dying Words of OLIVER
PLUNKET, Arch-Bishop of ARMAGH, and Primate
of IRELAND.

The CIVIL and MILITARY Articles of LIMERICK.

Likewise the CASE of the ROMAN CATHOLICKS of
IRELAND, humbly represented to both Houses of
Parliament, with Remarks on the Conditions of
LIMERICK, and the Nature of taking the Oaths of
Allegiance and Abjuration. *The latter,*

By the Revd. Doctor NARY.

Great is Truth; and Mighty above all Things. 3 Esdras.

4. 41.

*Strive for the Truth unto Death, and the Lord shall
fight for thee.* Eccles 4. 41.

London: Re-printed in the Year 1768.

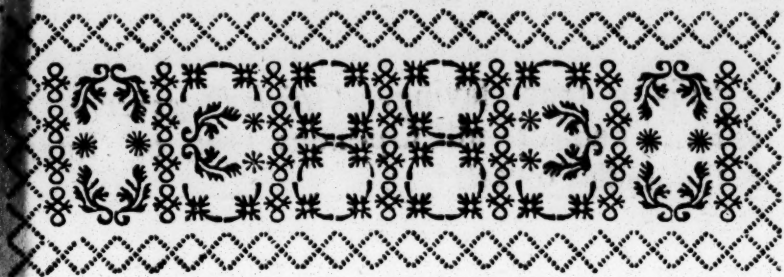
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T H E

P R E F A C E

THE Affairs of *Ireland*, ever since Licentiousness appeared there under the Cloak of Gospel-Liberty, have been so strangely mis-represented Abroad, especially in *England*, where every Passage was stuffed with such groundless Fictions and malicious Calumnies, industriously contrived and spread about by a Sort of People, who seemed to believe they cou'd do no greater Service to the God of Truth, than to act the Part of the Father of Lies; that it is no easy Matter for ordinary enquirers to trace out the naked Truth of any Thing transacted in that Country these hundred Years past, at least to the Satisfaction of those, who are too much prepossess'd and wedded to their first Notions, and perhaps have in this Case no great Mind to be undeceiv'd.

'Tis a true saying, *Opinion governs the World*, and of all Opinions that of Interest is the most Powerful.

It was Saint *Paul's* Sentiment, that *Godliness is great Gain*; * but the Reform'd Saints in this Age invert the Maxim, and do rather conclude, that *Gain is great Godliness*.

Upon this Godly Motive it was, that our zealous Reformers went into *Ireland* to propagate their Gospel, where they took more Pains to make the Land turn Protestant than the People; *The Confiscation of Men's Estates* (as King *Charles* the first well observ'd of the *Tribes Apostolical Spirit*) being more beneficial than the Charity of saving their Lives, or reforming their Errors. †

And because they cou'd not compass this effectually, without rendering the *Catholic Proprietors* very black and odious to the World, their great Zeal for Converting those *Pope's Acres* make them stick at nothing that might forward so holy a Design; And therefore in all Cases their chief Text was, *Throw Dirt enough, something will stick; Calumniare fortiter, aliquando adhaerebit.*

Hence

* 1 Tim. 6. 6. † Icon Basil, chap. 12.

The PREFACE.

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Hence it is that those Protestants who went to settle in *Ireland*, and writ of what pass'd there either in their own Time or before, especially since the Reformation, took all possible Care to stifle or disguise the Truth, and were so far from mentioning any thing, at least as far as ever I cou'd find, that might be of any Credit or Advantage to the *Catholick* Natives, except some few Passages in Sir *John Davis*, that they loaded them on every Occasion, with all the Calumnies Wit or Malice cou'd invent.

And those their malicious and groundless Fictions they impos'd for Truth, not only upon the inferior sort of *English* Historians, who being all Protestants, and generally *Fanaticks* were apt to catch at any Bulrush for promoting their good old Cause, but even upon those of the first Magnitude, particularly the learned *Antiquary* Mr. *Cambden*, whose Errors of that kind gave just Occasion to the known and true Epigram;

*Angligenas oculis lustras, Cambdene duobus;
Uno oculo Scotos; Cæcus, Hibernigenas.*

Of this sort of Writers we have a Cloud of Instances, but a very remarkable one in Sir *John Temple*, who writ as many Lies in a

manner as Lines, in his *Romantick Legend* of the *Irish* Rebellion, on purpose to blacken the People, and exasperate the Republicans of *England* against them, and against the King too, upon the Account of the Murders he pretends to have been there committed, whereof the hundredth Part was not true.

And in our Days the Reverend Dr. King, the Pillar of the Party, shews plainly in his late Elaborate Piece, what Spirit our *Irish* Reformers are of, when their Interest prompts them to *play the Devil in God's Name*.

It were too tedious, and indeed not worth the while to mention the rest; they are all of a Piece, and as the *Scotchman* says, *The De'el a Barrel better Herring*: Insomuch that if they did not abominate Confession, as much as they hate Restitution (which tho' undeniably one of the most essential Parts of a Repenting Christian's Duty, is yet never preach'd nor practis'd by Protestants, let them wrong their Neighbour never so much) they might all unanimously cry with the *Scornful Rulers of Jerusalem*, mention'd by the Prophet: *We have made Lies our Refuge, and under Falshood have we hid ourselves.* * For it seems very plain that the same active Envoy, who offered

The P R E F A C E. vii

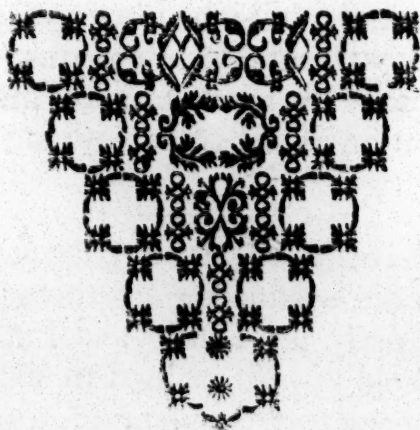
ffered to be a Lying Spirit in the Mouth of
all the Prophets of King * *Ahab*, performed
his Part with a Witness among these Evan-
gelical Seers.

For my part, I can affirm, I have here en-
deavoured to trace out and deliver the Truth,
as near as possible I cou'd in so short a Dis-
course; and the chief Points of what is related
in the following Treatise, I have taken from
Authentic Records, and the most impartial
Memoirs of those Times, or from living Wit-
nesses of Quality and undoubted Probity, only
in some few Cases I followed the common and
constant Tradition of the most knowing People
of that Country; which in my Opinion, is
much more warrantable than the Malicious
Incoherent, and in some Cases, morally im-
possible, Relation of others.

I am still ready to stand corrected, when
better Proofs are produced; for there is nothing
I love so entirely as Truth and Justice: And
therefore I hold myself oblig'd to any one that
will give a more exact Account of those Affairs,
with such Proofs as may seem reasonable to any
indifferent Person, without shuffling or going
about the Bush.

In the mean Time, I will upon these Terms
conclude with the *Poet*.

—— *Si quid novisti rectius istis candidus
imperti; Si non, his utere mecum.*



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idus

The GENUINE

HISTORY of IRELAND.

The FIRST PART.

AS soon as Queen *Mary* died, *Elizabeth*,
Henry the VIII's Daughter by *Anna*
Bullen, was assum'd to the Crown
through the fatal Stupidity of the
Catholick Clergy, and Laity, who were
then by much the major Part of the
Kingdom, and the Men chiefly in
Power; yet foolishly preferring a Bastard of their
own Country, before the lawful Issue of *Henry* the
Seventh's eldest Daughter, married into *Scotland*, they
unanimously proclaim'd *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*;
altho', besides many other Proofs of her being illegiti-
mate, they knew very well that she had been so de-
clared by two Acts of Parliament then in Force, and
never yet repealed.

This Queen being sensible, that by the ancient and
known Laws of the Catholick Church, and the De-
crees of several Popes, which she could not expect to
get repealed, she was a notorious Bastard, and conse-
quently had no Right to the Crown, (as in Truth she
had no more by the fundamental Laws of the Land
than the late D. of *Monmouth*) openly declared herself
a Protestant, and resolved to establish that Sort of Pro-
fession in all her Dominions; in which Undertaking

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her Preachers had much the same Success, that the Harlot boasted of to *Socrates*, *That she cou'd find more Followers than he, notwithstanding all his Philosophy, because* (as that great Man answered) *she proposed the loose Way of Vice and Wickedness, while himself preached the rugged Path of Virtue.*

In *England* she since got her Parliaments to pass what Laws she pleased to that Purpose, and to turn Protestants too for Company, as being the easier Way to Heaven; for 'till then the silly Papists thought themselves very happy, if they could reach thither at any Rate, not only like *Pilgrims* a Foot, but with a continual Exercise of tedious *Fastings*; large *Alms-Deeds*, frequent *Confessions*, austere *Penance*, and over and above all this, a full and free *Restitution* to the utmost of their *Power*, whensoever they had injured their Neighbours: But upon a new Protestant Discovery of the *North-East* Passage to Paradise, they found they might go to *Heaven* in Coaches, and be secured of the Land of Promise without all that superfluous Foppery, which could avail them nothing. Wherefore this edifying Doctrine of Gospel Liberty, so charming for its Novelty and so agreeable to Flesh and Blood, was immediately received into *England* with open Arms; and for fear the changeable People should offer at any Time to prefer the Flesh pots of *Ægypt* before this *Heavenly Manna*, it was therefore establish'd by dint of Law.

But in *Ireland* the incorrigible Fools were more steady and fixed in their ancient Way of Worship; for altho' in *Henry* the VIII's Time they were strangely imposed upon, and made believe that the chief Quarrel this K. had with the Pope was purely about Civil Affairs or Matters of Temporal Government; and were confirmed in this Opinion, because the King himself and his English Parliament too, who had declared



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for him against the Pope, were at the same Time all professed *Roman Catholicks*, for which Reason the *Irish* Parliament made no Scruple to pass several extravagant Acts against the Papal Jurisdiction, or the same in Effect that had passed before in the Parliament of *England*; yet having had Time to Consider of what they had done, and finding that all the *Catholicks* of *Europe* exclaimed against their Proceedings, they no sooner met again in Parliament, which was the third of *Philip* and *Mary*, but they unanimously repealed and abolished all the said Statutes. *Q. Eliz.* therefore knowing that the *Irish* cou'd not be again surprized the same Way: but to the Contrary were resolved against all Innovations in Religion, caused a pack'd Convention to assemble under the Notion of a Parliament, which for the most Part consisted of such Members as she believed might be easily won, or imposed upon, not to thwart her Designs. For in this Convention all possible Care was taken that very few of the most eminent Peers, and as few of the leading Commoners of the Kingdom, should meet; by which Means, and some other subsequent Devices, Matters were so contrived, that several Acts were then paun'd upon the People for granting to that Queen the absolute Disposal of Ecclesiastical Livings, especially of Bishopricks, for enjoining her new Oath of Supremacy, and utterly abolishing the Pope's Jurisdiction. And to compleat the Work for establishing instead of Mass, her Book of Common Prayer, with severe Penalties upon such as should oppose any Branch of this precious Reformation.

Now that these pretended Statutes were gained by Tricks, and sinister Ways, and not by the free and legal Consent of the *Representative Body* of the Nation, plainly appears from this undeniable Truth, that not one in five hundred of the Natives was then Protestants, or became so during *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, which

which could not possibly have happened, no more than it did in *England* and *Scotland*, had the *Irish* Lords and Commons freely consented to the enacting of such Laws. And for a further Confirmation of this Truth, 'tis to be observed, that while those lived that sat in said Convention, and knew very well that no such Acts were passed by them, this Queen never ventured to put them in Execution, nor indeed to make any great Noise there were such Statutes in Being, until after the *Spanish Armada*, which came to invade her in the Year 1588 was utterly defeated.

That *Spanish* Cloud was no sooner dispersed than *Q. Elizabeth* resolved to fall upon the *Irish* with all the Severity imaginable, in order to force her pretended Reformation upon them; first, she prosecuted some on Pretence of having relieved a few *Spaniards* cast by Strefs of Weather upon the Coast of *Ireland*; then she ordered others to be seized on for having harboured *Catholick Bishops, Priests* and *Friars*; and a great many more were questioned for having been at Mass, or not coming to the Protestant Meetings, as they were enjoined by the said pretended Acts of Parliament.

'The Nobility and Gentry of *Ireland*' particularly the Earl of (a) *Tyrone* and several others of the leading Men of the Nation, were strangely alarmed at this illegal Way of proceeding; for they plainly saw there was no Choice now left but either to abjure their Religion, or to stand in their own just Defence against the arbitrary Encroachments of that Usurper. They chose to venture upon the latter, and the rather because of the Encouragement they received not only from the *Spaniards*, who promised them mighty Suc-

(a) *Tyrone's War.*

urs, but also from *James* the 6th King of *Scotland*, who tho' bred a Protestant, yet as well to revenge his Mother Queen *Mary's* barbarous Murder, the undoubted Heirefs of the Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, as also to divert and weaken the *English*, in Case they shou'd oppose his Rightful Succession, sent them under-hand more effectual Supplies from Time to Time, than the *Spaniards* did, notwithstanding their great Promises.

Hereupon a War ensued, which lasted several Years, and ended not 'till Queen *Elizabeth* was expiring. The Lord *Montjoy*, then her Deputy of *Ireland*, finding she was despaired of by her Physicians, and not knowing what Revolution might happen in *England* upon her Death, employed some Friends under-hand to make Overtures to the Earl of *Tyrone* of a general Amnesty for himself and all his Adherents, the free Exercise of their Religion, and a full Enjoyment of their Estates and Fortunes, on Condition they wou'd speedily lay down their Arms. *Tyrone* and his Party accepted of these Terms, and were thereupon every one of them restored to their former Possessions, which they peaceably enjoyed for several Years after. The Summer following, *Tyrone* goes for *England*, to submit himself in Person to King *James*, who now succeeded Queen *Elizabeth* in the *English* Throne, where he was not only well received by the King, as *Baker* observes, but also had a Proclamation issued in his Favour, that he should be used by all Men with Honour and Respect.

This King, while in *Scotland*, gave great Hopes to the *English* Catholicks, (*b*) and to the Pope, of his fa-

(*b*) The Powder Plot.

vourable Intentions towards their Party, and promised them his Protection and Favour, in Case he succeeded *Queen Elizabeth*; nay, there was an exprefs Letter under the King's Hand and Seal sent to *Clement* the 8th then Pope, to assure his Holiness of his Majesty's Inclination to become a Roman Catholick, when he was settled in the *English* Throne, as (c) *Sanderfon* and several others mention, but with this Addition of their own, that the Letter was sent by the Fraud of the *Scotch* Secretary of State: But however it was, 'tis most certain, that the King was soon diverted from all this by the Fraud and wicked Artifice of the *English* Secretary, Crook-back'd *Cecil*, by whom, after the said Letter was brought out of the Pope's Cabinet, his Majesty was prevailed upon to shew that Party no Manner of Countenance, but to the Contrary, to pass very severe Laws against them upon the Account of the horrid Powder plot, which was soon after framed by the Contrivance of that crafty Minister, but father'd upon the *English* Catholicks, because some thirteen turbulent Spirits of them, Men for the most Part of desperate Estates (d) as they are described by King *James*'s own Proclamation, were wheeled into it by that crooked Architophel, as their likeliest Way to be secured against the bloody penal Law of *Queen Elizabeth*.

I know this Point has been sufficiently handled too and fro by able Pens both Protestant and Catholick, but upon the whole Matter I'm clearly of Opinion, that no rational Man, who impartially weighs all the strange Circumstances of that hellish Contrivance (as they are represented by several Writers of

(c) In his *King James* Edit, *London*, 1655, Page 48.
 (d) See Proclamation 7th *November*, 1605.

both Sides, but more fully handled by the honourable and ingenious Author of the Catholick Apology, (e) Printed Anno 1674) but must believe, that none was more deeply concerned therein than *Cecil* himself: For if we consider first the Number, the Quality, and the Interest of the Plotters, so very unlikely to carry on a Design of that extraordinary Nature: Secondly, the unaccountable Romantick manner of its Discovery, by a (f) Letter from an unknown Hand, which could not possibly have been penn'd by any real Plotter in his Wits, much less sent ten (g) Days before the intended Execution, when the sending it on the very Eve had been much better; thirdly, how the Ringleaders (h) *Catesby* and *Piercy*, who best knew the Bottom of the Design, were killed on the Spot, as (i) *Tresham* died in a few Days after he was sent to the Tower, and of a *Strangury* forsooth, which was ever reputed a lingering Distemper; and in fine, if we call to mind how wicked Statesmen have often used the like Practices for Ends of their own, as *Cecil's* own Father the Lord *Burleigh* and his Predecessor (k) *Walsingham* had frequently done in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign; even as in our own Days the Tyrant *Cromwell* contrived several such Plots for enslaving the Royal Cavaliers, and *Cecil Redivivus*, creeping *Shafsbury*, was no less dexterous in the late King's Days: All these Circumstances, I say, duly and impartially considered, we cannot but conclude, as *Osburn* an inquisitive Protestant Author of those

(e) In his 28 Reply, p. 399. (f) *Baker's Chron.* edit. Anno 1679. p. 410. (g) *Sanderson's K. James*, page 323. *How's King James* edit. Anno 1631. page 76, and (h) *Baker* p. 410. (i) *Baker* *ibid.* (k) *Cambden* edit. Anno 1627, ad Annum 1686. p. 408.

Times has already done, who plainly says, that (l) the Powder Plot was a neat Device of the Treasurer *i. e.* of Crook-back'd Cecil, who after he had done this mighty Piece of Service, was in a few Months made Knight of the Garter, and in a fewer Years, high Treasurer of England.

This haughty *Haman*, now puffed up with Success, shewed himself so open and so inveterate an Enemy to his Catholick Countrymen, that he was accused (as *Saunderson (m)* mentions) of determining their utter extirpation. Neither did his Malice stop here, but being a famed Professor in Tricks, (as *Osburn* describes him) and finding how well his wicked Stratagem took in London, he frames a Project to carry on the like Design in Ireland. In order to this *Christopher St. Lawrence*, commonly call'd the blind Lord of *Howth*, was wrought upon to invite the Earls of *Tyrone* and *Tyrconnell*, the Lord Baron of *Delvin*, and several other leading Men of the *Irish* Catholicks to a Meeting (n) wherein having first persuaded them to an Oath of Secresy, as having somewhat of great Moment to tell them, he declares, that to his Knowledge the State had resolved to force the Catholicks of Ireland to become Protestants, and that to prevent this Mischief, they had no Way but their speedy and unanimous Resolution to stand in their own Defence, until they were secured against all Alterations in Religion.

The Proposal was no sooner made than rejected unanimously by the whole Company, alledging they had no Reason to apprehend such Usage, contrary to publick Faith; that King *James* was a Just Prince,

(l) *Osburn's Historical Memoirs*, edit. Anno 1658, p. 36. (m) In his *K. James* p. 335. (n) *Historical Memoirs*, p. 37 and 88.

and by an undoubted Right their Lawful Sovereign: and therefore that they would not rashly venture upon so dangerous an Undertaking. Nevertheless *St. Lawrence* goes immediately to the Lord Deputy, and discovers their Meeting, charging them with a Treasonable Conspiracy; whereupon, *Tyrone* and the rest were sent for, and examined before the Council, where they flily deny'd the whole Matter; but seeing *St. Lawrence* appeared before them to Confront them, they acknowledged there had been indeed such a Meeting and Proposal made by *St. Lawrence*, but unanimously rejected by them for divers Reasons, which they then repeated. They were severally examined, but all agreeing, and nothing appearing against them but one single Witness, the Council did not think fit to commit them, but ordered them to appear again the next Day. In the mean Time they were understood and advised by some pretended Friends in the Council, to save themselves for fear of being imprisoned, till some other corrupted Evidence might be found; which they were assured was designed. This knavish Advice the said Earls foolishly took, and were thereupon declared Rebels, and not only their own particular Estates, but also six entire Counties in *Ulster* were seized upon as forfeited to the Crown, without any further Hearing or legal Trial; and divided among several *English* and *Scotch* Protestants, on such Conditions as made it plain, the Natives, together with their Religion were to be for ever suppressed; for they were prohibited under pecuniary Mulcts and other severe Penalties from the Exercise of it, and in every Grant there was a special Proviso in the Letters Patent, that no part of those Lands should be sett to Farm, at least not sold or transferr'd to any but to *English* or *Scotch* Protestants. At the same Time *St. Lawrence*, notwithstanding the great Zeal he pretended but a little before for the preservation of the Catholick Religion,

ligion, turned Protestant, and upon that Account had no small share of the Spoil.

There was no doubt but this strange Usage caused great Heart-burnings among the *Irish*, especially those of the said six Escheated Counties, who were the immediate Sufferers, yet they patiently bore their Afflictions until they found that their Enemies Malice was not to rest there, but had resolved to extirpate their whole Nation, or force them to renounce their Religion. The Earl of *Strafford* alarmed a great many by the sinister Way he took, during his Government of that Kingdom, to find Flaws in the Titles of several Gentlemen to their ancient Estates in *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Connaught*; which he did, not to serve the King, but to enrich himself and his Creatures. Among the many Instances that could be given of this Kind, that of the Territory of *Idough* in the County of *Kilkenny*, is very remarkable, for *Strafford* being resolved to seize upon that scope of Land, and finding no legal Cause against the Proprietors, who had been in the quiet and peaceable Possession thereof for some Ages, he caused an Inquisition to be taken about the Year 1635, whereby that whole Territory was found in the King, upon no other Pretence, but that *Henry* the Second was entitled to it near upon 500 Years before. And upon this single Account he turns the former Proprietors out of Doors, and gets the same granted by Letters patent to his own Relation, Sir *Christopher Wandesford*. *Ex Ungue Leonem*.

This was another, and a very shrewd Warning-Piece to make the *Irish* apprehend what Usage they were like to expect; but they were threatned far worse afterwards, when the Presbyterian Party in *England* and *Scotland*, having concerted among themselves, and resolved to run down Episcopacy and their Monarchy too, had wheedled King *Charles* the first

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into such prodigious Concessions, especially that fatal Mistake of making his *English* Parliament perpetual, that it was no longer in his Power to stop their Career: For then their Brethern in Iniquity, the Fanatics of *Ireland*, who all the while kept a strict Correspondence with those of *England*, concluded that now or never was the Time for them to extirpate the *Irish* Catholicks Root and Branch. To compass this godly Project, they framed a (o) Petition addressed to the *English* Parliament, and got it signed by many thousand Hands, praying that the *Irish* Papists might be forced either to turn Protestants or to abjure the Kingdom, and such as should prove Refractory, to be hanged at their own Doors. And so sure they were of carrying this Point, that several of them declared openly and above Board, even at the Council Table, that within a Twelve-month there shou'd not be a Catholick to be seen in *Ireland*.

Here we have a hopeful Scheme of a Protestant *Thorou' Reformation*, where knocking Arguments are urged, not to convince People's Judgments, but in effect to beat out their Brains, a Practice never thought of, much less used by the most renowned of our Primitive Christians towards the very Heathens. For the Roman Emperors, after they happily submitted the Eagle to the Cross of Christ, were so far from offering any such Force or Violence to those, who were educated in the Pagan Way of Worship, that they never proposed to have them punish'd either in Purse or Person, for not conforming to the Christian Faith; because they could not but think it highly unreasonable, that a People, who brought in no *new sort of Religion*, either of their own, or of any others

(o) See the Narrative of the late Troubles in *Ireland*, edit. *London* Anno 1660. p. 3.

late Invention, but were in the peaceable Possession of an old One for many hundreds, if not thousands of Years before the Gospel was known in the World. should be otherwise dealt with in order to their Conversion, than by Prayers and Preaching, and convincing Reasons, the only Methods prescribed and practised by *Christ* and his Apostles. Thus did the Glory of our *British Isle*, the great *Constantine*, (as appears by his Edict recorded by *Eusebius* (p) in that Emperor's Life) endeavour with strong and solid Arguments to persuade his Heathen Subjects to quit their vain and foolish Idolatry, and embrace the Truth of the Gospel; yet he never offered to force any, but to the contrary declared, that he left them a free Liberty to follow their own Inclination. And to come nearer home, thus did King *Ethelbert*, the first *English* Christian Monarch, after he was converted by St. *Austin* the Monk, deal with his Pagan Subjects of whom he never persecuted any (as venerable *Bede* informs us) but gave every Body the Freedom of his Conscience: the same (q) Author observes, he learnt from those who taught him the Way of Salvation, that the Service of *Christ* must be no forced Compliance, but a free and voluntary Obedience. Nevertheless our new Sort of Saints must have new methods of their own, so as to out do even the furious Zeal of the Arian Reformers, who were the first Contrivers among Christians of that unchristian Way of Reforming the Catholick Church by penal Laws and Persecutions; and therefore the Catholicks of *Ireland*, who for twelve hundred Years together stuck to the Faith they first received from their

(p) L. b. a de Vita *Constantini*, c. 47. &c. (q) *Dixerat enim et a Doctoribus, Auctoribusque suæ Salutis. Servitium Christi Voluntarium, non coactitium esse debere.* Beda Lib, 1. *Uist. Genris Anglorum*, Cap. 25.

Apostle St. *Patrick*, must now be convinced by *Halters* and *Gibbets*, that their Ancestors were all in the Wrong, and that *Christ* stood in need of *Luther* and *Calvin's* new Revelations to refine his Gospel, and to rebuild his Church, which was quite gone to decay, notwithstanding all his fair Promises to the Contrary. And what is the natural Consequence of all this but that *Bernardinus* (r) *Ochinus* was in the Right. and that Men of Sense cannot in Reason believe in such a Lying *Messiah*, as *Jesus Christ*.

But to pursue our present Purpose, the barbarous Petition aforesaid came at last to the Knowledge of some Catholick Gentlemen in *Ulster*, as it was there handed about, in order to get more Subscriptions; and that by the means of one Mr. *Primrose* a Minister, living near *Crum Castle*, into whose Hands it came, that it might be signed both by himself and by the chief Protestants of his Parish and Neighbourhood. But he, as he was an honest moral Man, and no Enemy to the Roman Catholick Religion, being astonish'd at so unchristian a Design, which he knew was vastly different from the Spirit of the Primitive Church, (the Patern these Protestants pretended to follow) shewed the Petition to the said Catholicks, who soon after complained of it to the Judges then going the Circuit, and to some other Magistrates, but all to no Purpose; for upon the whole Matter they were rather confirm'd in their Apprehensions of the approaching Danger, than eased with any Hopes of Security. This put the Catholicks of the whole Kingdom into a very great Consternation, and the rather because they knew the Lords Justices Sir *William Parsons* and Sir *John Borlase*, were not only rank *Presbyterians*, but openly for

(r) See Sir *Kenelm Digby's* Observations on *Religio Medici*.

the Parliament, against the King; so that no Redress cou'd be expected at their Hands. And, on the other side, they found that his Majesty's Affairs were so far embroil'd in *England*, that it was not in his Power to relieve them; for if the House of Commons there carried it so high against the Protestant Bishops and Clergy establish'd by Law, (to say nothing of *Stratford's* unparallel'd Usage) it was in vain for Catholics especially for those of *Ireland*, to hope for any Protection against them. The People thus abandoned on all Sides, cou'd plainly see their Danger, but not the Way to escape it: They saw no Security but in Arms yet that seem'd too desperate a Remedy even for so desperate a Disease, and besides being no Way furnish'd either with Arms or Ammunition, they were at a Stand, not knowing what to do, when all of a sudden an unlucky Occasion presented.

The King perceiving, but too late, what his Rebel Parliament designed against him in *England*, sends Instructions by the Marquis of *Antrim* to the Earl of *Ormond*, then Lieutenant-General of his Army in *Ireland*, to contrive with his other Loyal Subjects there, the best Methods they cou'd for seizing upon the Parliamentary Justices, and declaring in Favour of his Majesty, against the Proceedings of the *English* Parliament. *Ormond* communicates the Message to a select Number both of Catholics and Protestants, and after several Meetings and Debates, the Matter was at last concerted, and the 16th of *November* 1641, when the *Irish* Parliament was to meet, appointed for putting it in Execution.

But the Design taking Wind, and coming to the knowledge of those they call the *Old Irish*, from whom *Ormond* earnestly desired it shou'd be kept secret. Sir *Phelim O Neil*, with several others of *Ulster*, resolving to be beforehand with his Lordship, against whom they

they were highly incensed for offering to conceal this secret from them, as if they were less zealous than others for their Majesty's Service, entered, for the same End, into a Conspiracy, persuaded themselves that if they succeeded, they should not only be indulged in Point of Religion, as the Presbyterian Covenanters had lately been in *Scotland*, but also be restored to their former Estates, out of which they had been dispossessed but about thirty Years before by the *English* and *Scotch* Protestants, who now were generally bent for the Parliament against the King.

The Plot being thus laid, and the 23 of *October* 41. appointed for it's Execution, to get the start of *Ormond* and his Party, my Lord *Maguire* with several others undertook to seize upon the Lords Justices and Castle of *Dublin*; but their Design being discovered the Night before it was to have been executed, his Lordship was taken and sent Prisoner into *England*. Sir *Phelim O Neil* and his Confederates had better success in *Ulster*, where they surpriz'd *Claremont*, and some other Garrisons. This is the naked Truth of the Rise and Original of the *Irish* Insurrection in Winter 1641 as I have been often assured by Men of sense and known Integrity of that Country, particularly by a very honest Gentleman now in *France*, who above ten Years ago affirm'd to me he had it even from *Ormond's* own Mouth some Years before; and I am fully persuaded, it is the most rational, and most likely Account that has been yet given of that matter. And for a further Confirmation of it, the Marchioness of *Antrim*, still living, and always a very zealous Protestant, and therefore in this Case a Witness beyond Exception, owned to some Friends in *London* in the Year 1683, that she had often heard the Marquis her Husband give much the same Relation of this Particular; and with all to affirm, that *Ormond* had no other

other Ground or Motive for the great Persecution raised against him upon the late King's Restoration but that he suspected him (and that very wrongfully as the Marquis solemnly protested to herself and others) to have discovered the Secret aforesaid to *Phelim O Neil*.

The Lords Justices, and most of the Council were not a little pleased at this Revolution, and swallowing already in Hopes the Estates of all the Catholics in the Kingdom, which they had long gaped after, did now resolve to leave no Stone unturned fully to compass that Design. They issued several Proclamations against the *Ulster* Rebels, requiring loyal Subjects to oppose and suppress them; yet the only way was for shew, or, as the saying is, a Copy of their Countenance, for their true Intention was to involve the Inhabitants of the other Provinces also in the same Crime, so as to bring them under the Lash of the Law; and therefore they took no care to suppress the Northern Insurrection, that the Contagion might spread and infect the whole Kingdom. For the Reason when the Catholics about *Dublin* offered their Service to the Lords Justices, they were not only refused Arms and Ammunition, at least to any Purpose, but soon after deny'd even Protection, insomuch that the Soldiers were suffered to plunder, and kill many of them on the Head without any manner of Provocation. Neither were others better used in the rest of the Kingdom, who not only were never concerned in any Rebellion, but also offered to give Security to live quietly and peaceably at home. Yet this was so far from being granted, that they were ill used everywhere by the Protestants, and treated more like Rebels than Subjects, nay the (r) Earl of *Castlehaven*

(r) See *Castlehaven's* Memoirs, second Edition.

suffered many Months Imprisonment for offering to speak in their behalf, and it was believed that his Head wou'd have paid for't but that he happily made his Escape.

The King, to whom for a great while the Affairs of Ireland were industriously (s) misrepresented: found out at last the true Original of this Commotion, and that it sprung from the same Source whence proceeded all the rest of his Troubles, which was a formed Design of the Republican part of his Subjects to ruin himself and all his Friends, as appears by his serious Reflections in his Solitudes (t) where he says; 'Certainly, it's thought by many wise Men, that the preposterous Rigour, and unreasonable Severity, which some Men carried before them in England, was not the least Incentive that kindled and blew up into horrid Flames the Sparks of Discontent, which wanted not predisposed Fuel of Rebellion in Ireland; where Despair being added to their former Discontents, and the Fears of utter Extirpation to their wonted Oppressions, it was easy to provoke them to an open Rebellion, — both to exempt themselves from their present Restraint, and to prevent those after Rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatened by the covetous Zeal and uncharitable Fury of some Men, who think it a great Argument of the Truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own. And again he says: Some kind of Zeal counts all mercifull Moderations Lukewarmness; and had rather be Cruel than counted Cold, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his Skin, than for any other harm he hath done; The Confiscation of Men's Estates being more

(s) K. Charles I. Sense of the Troubles in Ireland: (t) *con Basilike*, cap. 12.

' beneficial than the Charity of saving their Lives, and
 ' reforming their Errors. *And at length concludes,*
 ' believe, it will at last appear, that they who first be-
 ' gan to embroil my other Kingdoms, are in a great
 ' Part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the
 ' not timely stopping, those horrid Effusions of Blood
 ' in Ireland.

But notwithstanding all the Care of that Party to
 misrepresent Matters to his Majesty, he was in the ve-
 ry beginning so far informed of the Grievances of his
Irish Subjects, and of the Designs laid to ruin them,
 that to render those Projects ineffectual, he was gra-
 tiously pleased to order the Lords Justices to issue
 a Proclamation of Pardon to all those that would submit
 in forty Days after its Publication. This seem'd no
 less than a Thunderbolt, which was like to blast the
 Hopes of the Party, who 'till then promised them-
 selves vast Estates by fishing in those troubled
 Waters, but now must be utterly disappointed, if the
 King's Orders should take Effect. To prevent
 therefore so fatal a Blow, and at the same Time to
 seem to comply with his Majesty's Commands, they
 issued a Proclamation of Pardon, yet so, that no
 wretched Man whatsoever, nor hardly the meanest Pe-
 asant, then in Arms, could reap any Benefit by it.
 For the Pardon was only for such as were no For-
 holders, and should repair to *Dublin* in ten Days Time,
 a Thing they knew impossible to be done. And to the
 End that the King might have no further Information
 of the true State of Affairs in *Ireland*, Sir *John Rochford*,
 one of his Majesty's sworn Servants, who promised to
 said Catholics to represent their Grievances to his
 Royal Master, was seized on by the Lords Justices in
Dublin, as he was ready to go for *England*, and barbarously
 tortured upon the (u) Rack to squeeze from him

(u) See *Castlehaven's Memoirs*.

thing out of him, whereby they might accuse the Queen, or the King himself, of that Insurrection.

By these strange and (w) unchristian Proceedings, the generality of the Kingdom were brought at last under an apparent Necessity, as the Protestants had all along desired and designed, to look to their own Safety, and to take Arms for their own Defence: Who therefore assembling themselves at *Kilkenny*, entered into an Association by the Name of the Confederate Catholics of *Ireland*, and raised some Forces in order to preserve their Lives from the Persecution of their Enemies. Yet to vindicate their Actions to the World, and throw off the Imputation of their designing to rebell against the King, they publish'd a Manifesto, wherein they set forth their Reasons for taking Arms, declaring themselves still faithful Subjects to his Majesty, and abhorers of the Parliament's Proceedings against him; and for a further Demonstration of their Loyalty and Sincerity, they took themselves, and imposed upon all those of their Party, such a new Oath of Allegiance as did fully express their Duty and Fidelity to the King, and yet might be taken by Catholics without renouncing any Principal of their Religion. And afterwards they appointed Commissioners to be sent to his Majesty into *England*, to represent their Grievances, and the tyrannical Proceedings of the Lords Justices.

(x) Before I proceed any further, 'tis necessary to examine what I heartily wish for the Credit of both Parties cou'd be buried in eternal Oblivion, that is the many Outrages and barbarous Murders committed on both Sides, during that unhappy War. Neither Par-

(w) The Confederate Catholics meet at *Kilkenny*.

(x) Of the Murders in *Ireland*.

ties can be excused, but those to be sure are most to blame, who began the Tragedy. 'Tis certain, each of them has laboured to throw the first Scene upon the other; but upon the whole Matter, I think it is very plain, that the Protestants were the first Actors upon the Stage, who immediately upon the Discovery of the Plot in *Dublin*, finding there was not many concerned in the Northern Insurrection but Men of desperate Fortunes, and apprehending that few estates Natives wou'd willingly engage in a Rebellion, took what Measures they could to provoke and frighten them into it: In order to which Design they sent out several Parties, as well in remote Places as round about (y) *Dublin*, who murdered a great many without Distinction of Age or Sex; particularly at *Santry*, *Clontarff*, *Bullock*, all within three or four Miles of the City, where they massacred in the beginning of *November*, 1641, near upon fourscore of the poor Country People; as the Garrison of *Carrickfergus* some Days before butcher'd in one Night all the Inhabitants of the Country called *Island Magee*, to the number of two or three thousand Men, Women and Children. The like Feats were done by the Lord *Broughill*, late Earl of *Orrery*, in the Counties of *Cork*, *Waterford*, and Parts adjacent: By Sir *Charles Coote* in his Expedition into the County of *Wicklow*: By Capt. *Peasely Brown* and others in the County of *Tipperary*; and in fine, because it was a general Contrivance, by most of the Protestant Garrisons of any Strength, all over the Kingdom.

The Irish who were in Arms in *Ulster*, contained themselves hitherto from doing any more Mischiefs

(y) See Narrative of the Troubles in *Ireland*, page 9. And Collection of Murders committed upon the Irish, Printed at *London*, Anno 1662, page 1, 3, 9, 15, 19, 23, &c.

than plundering and stripping the Protestants, without touching the Lives of any that did not appear in Arms against them, but hearing of the inhumane Proceedings aforesaid, they were so far exasperated, that altho' the leading Men amongst them were not so void of Humanity as to revenge their Countrymen's Death upon those that had no Hand in their Blood, yet the common Soldiers took a Resolution to use the Protestants in the *North* no better than the Catholics were treated there, or in the other Provinces: And upon this single Account many hundreds of Lives were on both Sides lost in cold Blood, each Party pretending to revenge the Murders committed by the other upon their Friends.

'Tis not yet known how many were thus sacrificed on either Side: but too many they were, be they never so few. Sir *John Temple's* Romantick Legend, where he draws up his Muster Rolls of two or three hundred thousands of *English* Protestants massacred in one Province, is not only incredible, but most ridiculous and absolutely impossible: For (to omit that some hundreds, said to have been there slain, were living for many Years after, and some of them lived to see the Restoration) all known Men must own, there was not half that Number of Protestants in the whole Kingdom in Summer 1641, as the aforesaid (z) Author of the Catholick Apology, an *English* Person of Honour, who generously took some Pains to examine this Aspersions, has proved, not only from good Reasons, but even from Protestant Writers: And concludes upon the whole Matter, That all these hundreds of Thousands said to have been murder'd in the *North*, cou'd not exceed three Thousand. And Sir *William Petty* an *Englishman* and a Protestant too, who was

(z) In his Reply, page 53, &c.

Clerk to the Usurper's Council, and Surveyor-General of the Lands in *Ireland*, an ingenious inquisitive Person, affirms, that upon the exactest Scrutiny there were not above thirty-six Thousand on both Sides killed in the Field, or murdered in cold Blood during the whole War.

However it be, for it stands not with my intended Brevity to enter now upon the particulars, (a) 'tis manifest there were six Times more of the Catholics massacred than of the Protestants upon that Revolution. First, because most of the Protestants, lived at that time in Cities, wall'd Towns and Castles, which secured them from the Fury of the Rabble; and the rest, who lived scatter'd up and down the Country, retired in all the Haste they cou'd into those Towns and Places of Strength, as soon as the Troubles began, and there they continued during the War, or withdrew into *England* or *Scotland*; so that few or none of them perished, but such as fell in the very beginning of the Confusion; whereas the Catholics being all along expos'd in the open Country, to the Fury of their merciless Enemies, were for the Space of twelve Years together butchered upon all Occasions. Secondly, because what was done to the Protestants was committed by the unruly Rabble, not only without, but contrary to the Orders of their Leaders, by whome therefore several of the Murderers were hang'd for their barbarous Doings: But the Protestants in most Places acted their Parts by publick Orders, being commanded not to spare the least Child, tho' but a Span long, as Sir *Charles Coote* often expressed himself to Parties he sent abroad to butcher the *Irish*. Thirdly, because of the very small Number of Catholics executed by the *Cromwellians*, upon

(a) More Catholics murdered than Protestants.

the Account of those Murders, who, had they been three Times so many, and all guilty, cou'd not rationally be supposed able to kill any considerable Number of Protestants, unless we fancy them so many Giants, or truly to answer the Character given in a Compliment by the Women of *Israel*, That *Saul had kill'd his Thousands, and David his Ten Thousands, (b)* For, as soon as Ireland was reduced by the Usurpers, they erected their pretended *High Court of Justice*, wherein all possible Enquiries were made all over the Kingdom, to find out what Murders had been committed upon the Protestants during the War, and Swarms of Witnesses were hired to Swear home; but notwithstanding all the Noise and Clamour of three hundred Thousand said to have been Massacred in one Province only, there were but one hundred and forty *Irish*, both Men and Women, (for in this Case neither Age nor Sex was regarded) and but few of them of any Note condemn'd, tho' their very Enemies were their Judges, on pretence of all the Murders committed by the Catholics from first to last: And most of those protested at their Death, (the only Time Men ought to be most believed) that they were innocent of the Crimes laid to their Charge. But if such Enquiries had been made on the other Side, and every Murderer of them brought to Answer for himself, I dare say the tenth Man of the Parliamentarians of *Ireland* cou'd not escape before any Just Tribunal upon Earth. And so sensible was that very Party of the truth of this Assertion, upon the late King's Restoration, that when some *Irish* Catholics then in *London*, who took upon them to act there for their Countrymen, proposed and pressed that all the Murderers on both Sides should be excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, these Protestants guilty Consciences so plainly appeared that

(b) 1 Sam. 18. 7.

they cou'd not endure to hear of the Proposal, nor think themselves safe till they were assured there was none excepted out of the Act, but some few Regicides, and the Catholicks of *Ireland*.

This in brief is the naked Truth of that Tragical History, which has raised so great a Clamour in the World. The Catholicks suffered in much greater Numbers, but dying as it were dumb, like so many Sheep brought to the Slaughter, their Blood made no great Noise, at least in *England*; but the Protestants fell, as I may say, with so many speaking Trumpets in their Mouths, that every individual seemed an hundred: And it was next to a Miracle they were not made some Millions, since several Millions of inveterate Republicans made it their daily Business to repeat, like so many Ecchoes, the Cruelties committed upon their Party, tho' not so much out of any Love or Pity to those that suffered, as for wicked Ends of their own; that is, to defame and run down the King at any Rate, to whom with more than diabolical Malice, they attributed all those Murders; and by that Means, and such other Godly Contrivances of theirs, murdered him in the Hearts of his People, long before they brought him to the Scaffold.

Neither were the Miscreants content with blasting his Majesty's Reputation during his Life only, but pursued the same Malice several Years after his Death; for in 1653. when they took Sir *Phelim O'Neill* Prisoner, and got him condemned in *Dublin* by their High Court of Justice, altho they looked upon him at the same Time, as the chief Promoter of all the Murders they fancy'd to have been committed upon the Protestants in *Ulster*, which yet was so far from being true, that none could be more severe than himself upon those Murderers, of whom he caused
several

several to be hanged for their inhuman Dealings; nevertheless, these implacable Enemies of Kings and Kingly Government, believing the Gentlemen undeniably guilty of all this Bloodshed, offered him his Life, in Case he wou'd but own that the Northern Insurrection was acted by Commission from King Charles the First. But he like a Man of Honour choosing rather to die with a safe Conscience than basely to redeem his Life by belying his innocent Prince in the Grave, not only slighted the Proposal, but publicly cleared his Majesty, even at the Place of Execution: As my (c) Lord Maguire did some nine Years before in London, notwithstanding all the Offers and Endeavours of the Rump Parliament.

But to return from this melancholy Digression, altho' the Confederate Catholicks had thus united themselves for their own Preservation, yet they never intended to hold out against the King, or to disown their Allegiance to him; and therefore finding by this Time that the War was broke out between the King and Parliament in England, and that his Majesty had at last thought fit to lay aside their inveterate Enemies, the Parliamentary Lords Justices, and to appoint the Earl of Ormond Lord-Lieutenant of the Kingdom. (d) they immediately concluded a Cessation with him on the 15th of September 1643, and furnished him with thirty thousand eight hundred Pounds Sterling to enable him to transport into England the Protestant Army then under his Command, since to prove himself a more zealous Protestant than a wise or able Minister of State, he refused the offer of their Catholick Army, and wou'd hardly allow them to send 2000 of their Men into Scotland to rein-

(c) See his Speech printed Anno 1644. (d) The Cessation concluded.

force the King's Party there under the Command of the Marquis of *Montrose*. Soon after, they dispatched the Lord *Muskry*, Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, and others into *England* to solicit his Majesty for Redress of several Grievances, relating as well to the Catholick Religion, as to their temporal Freedoms. These Agents after a favourable Hearing, were referr'd back to the Lord Lieutenant, to whom his Majesty at the same Time seriously recommended to conclude a Peace with the Confederate Catholicks, but pressed him afterwards, more earnestly, by several Letters and Messages, to make a speedy End of the War of *Ireland*, declaring that if his *Irish* Subjects wou'd be content with the free Exercise of their own Religion, and the Repeal of *Poyning's* Act, over and above a General Amnesty for the past; he would think it no hard Bargain: Adding with all, that he would have a Peace concluded with them, whatever it cost.

Ormond nevertheless, proved deaf to all this, and never cou'd be induced, notwithstanding his Master's repeated Commands, to conclude a Peace with the *Irish*, who earnestly desired it, until the King's Affairs were in a manner past retrieve in *England*, after the Battle of *Naseby*, and the several other Losses the Royal Party sustained that Campaign. (e) Then and not till then, could he be brought to hear of a Treaty; and even in those very Circumstances so unwilling he was to put an End to the War, that altho' the Articles were agreed on in *March* following between him and certain Commissioners appointed for that Purpose, yet he puts off the exchanging of them for that Time, and so deferr'd it from Day to Day, until the King finding his Army in no Condition to

(e) The Treaty called, the Peace of 46.

keep the Field that Summer, unfortunately put himself in the beginning of *May* 1646, into the Hands of the *Scotch* Rebels then before *Newark*, by whom he was soon after prevailed upon to recall, by his Letter to *Ormond* of the 11th of *June* from *Newcastle*, all the Powers he had formerly given him for concluding a Peace with the *Irish*. The supreme Council of the Confederate Catholicks wondering at these Delays, sent at last to *Ormond* about Midsummer, to know his final Resolution concerning the Peace, who answered, That he could proceed no further in that Treaty, because he had received his Majesty's Commands to the Contrary. Nevertheless having upon second Thoughts hit upon a new Knack of Policy for imposing upon the Confederates, he sends to them in some Weeks after, and renews the Treaty; for he considered, that he might on the one Hand proceed to the exchange of the Articles, and get the Peace proclaimed, because he was thereby sure to make himself Master of all the Strong Holds then possessed by the *Irish*; and on the other Hand, that he should not be concluded by it, if he found his Interest the other Way, because his Power was recall'd before the Articles were exchanged: And upon this Account he proceeds to conclude the Peace, and gets it proclaim'd in *August* following.

But the *Pope's* Nuncio, and the Prelates then convened at *Waterford*, seeing that his Majesty had disowned the *Earl of Clanmorgan's* Commission, and Proceedings with them on which they solely relied, as to the Affairs of the Church, and finding no sufficient Provision made in that Peace for Liberty of Conscience or the Catholick Religion, they openly protested against it: and withal they issued forth a Commnatory Excommunication against the Acceptors of it, as being Guilty of wilful Perjury: Because in the
Beginning

Beginning of their Association, an Oath (f) was framed for their better Union, and taken by all the Confederates, that none of them wou'd accept of any Terms of Peace, without the consent of the rest, in a general Assembly of the whole Nation, which ordinarily met once a Year, to settle all publick Affairs. This wrought so much upon the Officers of the Army, and the Gentry of the whole Kingdom, that the Peace was generally rejected; whereupon *Ormond*, who in hopes of being received, pursuant to that Peace, was come as far as *Kilkenny*, thought convenient to retire hastily to *Dublin*. Soon after, the general Assembly of the Confederates met, where the Articles of the Peace were fully examined, and after several Debates, rejected for the Reasons aforesaid; and the Commissioners who concluded the same, as having exceeded their Commission, were censured and imprisoned.

During these Transactions the *Scottish* Army were bargaining with the *English* Parliament about the Disposal of the King's Person, to whom they sold him at last for two hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*, on the eighth of *February*, 1646. and in few Months after, *Ormond* delivers up *Dublin*, the King's Sword, and all the Ensigns of Royalty there, to Commissioners from the Parliament, for which good Service he was presented by them in *London* with a Chain and Medal of Gold, together with 13000 *Lib. Sterl.* in Money, as the Earl of *Anglesey*, one of the Commissioners has since publicly aver'd.

(g) In the mean Time the Confederate Catholics, went on vigorously with the War against the Par-

(f) See *Castlehaven's* Memoirs. (g) The Peace.

Parliamentarians, and possessed themselves entirely of all Ireland, except *Dublin* and *Londonderry*: And being informed that the King was made a close Prisoner in *England*, and his Son the Prince of *Wales* forced to fly into *France*, whither his Queen had sometime before withdrawn herself, they sent the Marquis of *Antrim* and Lord *Muskerry*, Agents thither, to signify to the Queen and Prince their willingness to conclude a Peace, in order to contribute what in them lay to free the King from his Misfortunes: Whereupon *Ormond*, who happened to be there at that Time, returns into *Ireland*, about *Michaelmas* 1648, and concludes the Peace with the general Assembly of the Confederates on the 17th of *January* following, commonly call'd the Peace of 48.

This Peace was immediately receiv'd by all the Confederate Catholics, except a small Party headed by *Owen Roe O Neil*, who being only a Soldier of Fortune, but confessedly the best Commander they had in the Kingdom, held out, because they unadvisedly refused to give him any considerable Post in the Army, until *Ormond* after he was shamefully surpris'd and routed before *Dublin*, (b) and *Cromwel* landing there in a few Weeks after, with a strong reinforcement, was glad to give his own Terms when it was too late: whereupon he and his Party submitted to the Peace, pursuant to a special Treaty concluded on the 12th of the ensuing *October*, and then all the Confederates joined Heart and Hand, against the Parliamentarians: But *Owen Roe* unfortunately dying soon after, there was none left able to make Head against *Cromwel*; who therefore carried all before him where-ever he went, with little or no Opposition, but what *Hugh duff O Neil* gave him at *Clonmel*, where he

(b) 2 August 1649.

lost near as many Men as he did in gaining the rest of the Kingdom, and wou'd have lost a great many more, and gone at last without it, had not the People of *Waterford* unhappily failed to send the Garrison Ammunition, as they promised.

Nevertheless, the Confederates struggled hard to the last, and tho' they were offer'd most of their Estates and other advantageous Terms, as the Case then stood, by the Rump Parliament, if they wou'd submit to them and renounce the King's Interest; yet they unanimously rejected all in their General Assembly at *Loughbreagh*, in Winter 1650, and never laid down Arms till they were reduced to an impossibility of continuing the War any longer, in the Year 1653.

The most of the Army, choosing rather to quit their native Country, than to live under the Usurper's Power: And withall, being resolved to spend the Remainder of their Days in their Prince's Service, made Conditions to go into foreign Countries especially *France* and *Spain*; and the rest, who by Reason of their Age, Charge, or Sickness, were necessitated to stay behind, suffered extreemly. For the common Soldiers and great Numbers of the poor Country People were sold by Wholesale for Slaves into the *West-Indies*, to the Number of fifteen or twenty thousand Souls: And the Officers with the rest of the Catholick Gentry of the Kingdom, were all commanded over the River *Shannon*, into the Province of *Connaught* and County of *Clare*, thence not to return upon Pain of Death, without special Licence, where they were daily exposed to all manner of Insolence, Oppression, and Cruelty, from the petty Tyrants domineering over them.

Cromwel in the mean Time, whether in Hopes to gain upon the *Irish*, or at least to make some shew of his

Inclination to Justice, ordered a Court (i) of Claims to be erected at *Athlone*, where all Catholics that could prove themselves innocent of the Rebellion, came within such Qualifications as he prescribed, were allowed for their Subsistence, to enjoy certain Proportions of Land in the said Province of *Connaught* and County of *Clare*, that is, some a fourth, others a third Part, according to their several Qualifications, and some few, perhaps, the one Half of the Number of Acres they were elsewhere posselt of, in 1641; yet the said petty Tyrants were not well pleased at this small Favour, but to the contrary believing that their own ill Acquisitions could not be secure of lasting, while the former Proprietors were in Being, they often consulted among themselves, and were within Access of resolving to Massacre them all at one pull, Men, Women and Children; which they had certainly done, but that the over ruling Hand of Providence diverted the Blow.

In this most dismal Condition the *Irish* continued for several Years, rack'd with daily Apprehensions of the Dangers that hung over their Heads, and having no Comfort under Heaven but the Hopes to see the happy Day of their Prince's Restoration, which they doubted not but would redeem them from their present Captivity; and besides restore them to the Inheritance of their Father's Estates. But how far they were deceived, and disappointed of these their reasonable Hopes, shall be the Subject of another Discourse.

(i) The *Athlone* Court of Claims.

Here ends the first Part.

The



The GENUINE
HISTORY of IRELAND.

The SECOND PART.

PROV. 29, 14.

*The King that faithfully judg'd the Poor, his Throne
shall be establish'd for ever.*

Isa. 10, 1.

*Woe to them that decree unrighteous Decrees, and that
write Grievousness which they have prescrib'd: To
turn aside the Needy from Judgment, and to take
away the Right from the Poor of my People, that
Widows may be their Prey, and that they may rob
the Fatherless.*



IN the foregoing Discourse we have taken a short
View of the several Revolutions, that have hap-
pened in *Ireland*, from the first Year of Queen
Elizabeth's to the last of *Cromwel's* Usurpation; dur-
ing which Time we have partly seen how Religion was
made

made a Stalking Horse to Violence and Rapine, and Gospel-Liberty turned into all Manner of Licentiousness: Whereby the Men in Power might oppress and plunder their Neighbours, without any more Concern or Remorse, than if they had the same Warrant from Heaven which the *Israelites* received by the Hands of *Moses*, to run away with the Spoil of the *Egyptians*.

Upon the whole Matter, I think it is very evident that (a) *Tyrone's* taking Arms was so far from being a Rebellion, either by the Laws of God, or the fundamental Laws of the Land, that it was rather a necessary Self defence against the unwarrantable Attempts of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had not only usurped the Crown upon Queen *Mary* of Scotland, but also endeavoured after an arbitrary Manner, to encroach upon the People's civil and religious Rights, contrary to all Laws both Human and Divine. And as for that Earl's having in King *James's* Time fled out of the Kingdom upon St. *Lawrence's* treacherous Information, may be reckoned a Sin against Prudence, which may oblige an honest Man to stand to the Defence of his own Innocence, Honour and Reputation, even with the Hazard of his Life: But it cannot be call'd a treasonable Crime, or an Act that proved him guilty of having had any ill Designs against the Crown. Nevertheless, since there was one positive, tho' in Reality a perjured Witness, to Swear to the Accusation; and that both he and the Earl of *Tyrconnel* fled for the same; it must be owned that there was Grounds enough for attainting them by Act of Parliament, which could not legally have been done, had they stayed and stood their Trial.

But as to the Insurrection of (b) 1641, there is no

(a) *Tyrone's* War no Rebellion. (b) The Troubles, not so criminal in the *Irish*, as in their Neighbours.
Doubt

Doubt but the Letter of the Law makes it Rebellion for Subjects under a Lawful Monarch, whether jointly or severally Considered, are still by our Laws but many private Persons, and therefore can never take upon themselves any publick Authority without a special Commission from the Prince. Yet if we appeal to the supreme Court of Equity, and there consider the Nature of Man, and all the provoking Circumstances of that Business, together with the powerful Instinct of Self-preservation, call'd by the Romans (c) "*Orator, non scripta, sed nata Lex, ad quam non docti sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus,*" a great deal may be said at least to excuse their Proceedings; which in Comparison of the bare faced causeless Rebellion, carrying on that same Time by the *English* and *Scotch* Republicans, not only against the King's Authority and Commission, but even against his sacred Person, and the very being of the Monarchy, cannot seem but a very slender Peccadillio, which bears no more Proportion to the other, than does the smallest Mole-hill to the Pic of *Teneriffe*. For there never was under a legal Government any Insurrection more Necessary for Self-preservation, and consequently more excusable, if we except the aforesaid Outrages committed by the unruly Rabble, than this of 41: And on the other Side, no Subjects ever laboured more to retrieve what the Rigour of the Law might construe a mis in their Actions, than the *Irish* Catholicks have done. They held out but about twenty-two Months and in all that Time they never intended to stand out against the King, but to secure themselves against the Parliamentary Lords Justices; who did so plainly abuse his Majesty's Authority, to the Prejudice of himself and of his loyal Subjects in that Kingdom, and in Favour of Rebels in *England*, that the *Irish* believed

(c) *Cicero Orat pro Milone.*

could not do the King better Service than to op-
 e them, and thereby prevent their doing any more
 chief. For Proof hereof, as soon as these Justices
 removed, the Confederate *Irish* made a Cessation
 with the Earl of *Ormond*, in order to the Conclusion
 a lasting Peace, which was equally wished for both
 Prince and People; but these good Wishes,
 ough the sinister Practices of some intermediate
 ents, or some other Fatalities, became Abortive
 that Time.

Nevertheless, a solemn Peace was at last concluded,
 the 17th Day of *January*, 1648-9, which the *I-*
 not only received unanimously, but sealed it with
 ir Blood; having pursuant to it, maintained a War
 ainst the Parliamentary Regicides for three Years
 cessively: And when all their strong Holds were
 t, continued a Mountain War for a Year after, in
 pes of receiving some Relief from the King. But
 at Expectation failing, they were obliged at length
 lay down Arms; yet because they could not endure
 live under the Tyranny of those Miscreants, who
 d imbrued their Hands in their Prince's Blood, most
 them made Conditions to go beyond Sea, and ac-
 ordingly some got into *France*, others into *Spain*, in
 to the Number of twenty-five or thirty thousand
 ective Men: And forasmuch, as their Mean Design
 s to render their Sovereign that Service Abroad,
 hich they were no longer able to do at Home, they
 sooner landed in foreign Countries, than they flock-
 from all Parts as fast as they could, to attend their
 nce's Commands. For this reason they quitted the
 anish Service while the King remained in *France*,
 quitted the *French*, as soon as he thought fit to re-
 into the *Spanish Netherlands*. And very certain it
 that this flocking of the *Irish* about his Majesty, at
 at Time, when he was in a Manner abandoned by
 the rest of the Subjects, rendered him much the
 more

more Considerate among Strangers; and gained him most of his Bread during the dismal Time of his Banishment.

(d) This is the Truth not to be denied by any Man in his Wits, for there is still many living Witnesses of it; and the King himself soon after his Restoration partly owned it in his Speech to the Parliament, on the 27th of July, 1660, where he expresses himself in these Words, "*I hope, I need say nothing of Ireland that they alone should be without the Benefit of my Mercy; they have shewed much Affection to me and my broad, and you will have a Care of my Honour, and of what I have promised to them.*" And again on the 30th of November following, in his Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland, he says: "*In the last Place we did and must always remember, the great Affection a considerable Part of that Nation expressed to us, during the Time of our being beyond the Seas when with all cheerfulness and Obedience they received and submitted to our Orders, and betook themselves to that service, which we directed as most Convenient and Boboofeful, at that Time to us, though attended with Inconvenience enough to themselves which Demeanor of theirs cannot but be thought very worthy of our Protection, Justice and Favour.*"

Let us now consider on the other Side, what great Protection, Justice or Favour have the *Irish* received for all their unparallel'd Loyalty, thus own'd and attested by the King himself in the Face of the World. The mean Question was then whether the *Cromwellians*, who like so many Blood-hounds hunted *Charles the First* to the Scaffold, and chased *Charles the Second*

(d) The Loyalty of the *Irish* attested by the late King.

and out of his Dominions, should still enjoy the Estates they got in *Ireland*, for those their signal Services against the Crown; or be obliged to surrender them to the former Proprietors, who had signalized their Loyalty in so extraordinary a Manner, and had lost the said Estates for their faithful Adherence to the Royal Interest, and besides were most justly entitled to them by the publick Faith of a solemn Peace at home, and the King's repeated Promises Abroad.

'Tis true, his Majesty did in the Beginning express himself very resolute for doing (e) Justice to the latter, but the Craft and Corruption of some Grandees about him wrought upon him by Degrees to give Way, and at last to abandon those to their Enemies, who never abandoned him in his greatest Misfortunes. (f) *Be astonish'd O ye Heavens at this!* For, was there ever any Act parallel to it read, or heard of, since the Creation? An Act so little becoming a Great or Generous Prince, so contrary to common Justice, and the most sacred Tyes of human Societies; and with all so impolitick, as entailing perpetual Factions and Rebellions upon his Successors, by the Hopes it gives to desperate needy People to make their Fortunes the same Way, and by the moral Damp it strikes upon Loyalty; so prodigious an Example of Ingratitude being a sufficient Warning-piece to others not to venture their All upon the like Account, that it shocks a Man's Understanding to think what could be the Drift, or Meaning of it.

Histories indeed furnish us with Examples enough, how Princes have often found it necessary for the Ease and Quiet of their Dominions, to pardon their sub-

(e) Of the Injustice done to the *Irish*. (f) *Jer.*
2, 22.

mitting Rebels, and thereby restore them to their former Possessions, and perhaps with some Marks of favour; nay sometimes to discharge them of their Subjection, and declare them a free People, when they would not otherwise be quiet, as the King of Spain has lately done to the *Dutch*: And there is no doubt but a Sovereign may lawfully do all this, because in such Cases he himself is the only looser; and may proceed with his own Right when he pleases, or, at least, when the Necessities of his Affairs require it. But that a King shou'd offer not only to Pardon and Reward Rebels upon their returning to their Duty; but to reward them with the Birth-right of such as adher'd to him to the last, with the hazard of their Lives and Limbs against those very Rebels, is so unaccountable a Procedure, that we can find no Example or Precedent for it in any History either sacred or Profane.

But the King (says one) could in Policy do no less, considering what great Numbers of his Subjects were then disaffected to his Government, and the great arrears due to the Army in *Ireland*, which he promised to pay. Very fine Policy indeed! Must Policy then be which is the Quintessence of refined Reason, and all Moral Perfections the noblest and most heroick, thus profaned and debased, to daub or guild over the failures of vicious or misled Prince's Policy: which in the true Art of Government, was even among the Heathens reckoned so great and so excellent a Quality; that the Prince of *Latin* Poets thought he could not bestow a higher Compliment upon his Country than to make it peculiar to the *Romans*, in the sixth Book of the *Eneids*, where he speaks to this Purpose

*While others may in other arts excel,
Romans, mind you and govern Nations well;
To give the Laws of Peace belongs to you,
To spare the Humble and the Proud subdue.*

But among Christians, who boast indeed of greater Perfections, and yet happen very often to practice less, this noble and sublime Virtue, is made a Cloak for all the Corruptions of depraved Nature; and is dwindled away into little Tricks, and cunning Fetches, to serve a present Turn, without the least Regard to Honour, Honesty or Conscience: Inſomuch, that Henry the Fourth of France had Reason to say, (only that out of Modesty he reckoned himself, but in Truth had too great a Soul, to be of the Number) *Nous autres Rois ſommes des grands Coquins.*"

Let us nevertheless, consider this Evasion a little further: If it was so very Politick to continue the Parliamentarians of Ireland in their new Acquisitions, for exasperating the disaffected Party, why were not their Brethern in England and Scotland continued in theirs also for the same Reason? Or was that Party in Ireland so very formidable, beyond those of the other Kingdoms, that their Friendship must be purchased at such an extravagant Rate? If the King obliged himself, by his Declaration from Breda, to satisfy all the Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers under the Command of General Monk; why might not this as well be done in Ireland by publick Taxes, as well as in the other Kingdoms, without stripping such a vast Number of poor Widows and Orphans, (whose Cry reaches daily to Heaven) of their Livelihood, and so many Thousands of Loyal Gentlemen of their ancient Birth-right, contrary to publick Faith, and the undoubted Interest of the Crown.

No, this plan and palpable Injustice, cannot be called the Effect of any Policy in the King; for nothing could be more impolitick or more contrary to his Honour and Interest: But it was a formed Design of some of his Ministers, and other leading Men; who then pretended to be zealous Converts to Loyalty,

alty, and yet like *Æsop's* Cat, could not forget the old Trade of Mousing. For, the true Reason why the *Irish* were so unequally dealt with, was that they were all Catholicks, never tainted with any Republican Principles, and not only had much diverted the Parliamentary Forces, while they were running down the King, but had given him strong Apprehensions of quite turning the Scales. It was therefore determined by the Matchiavels, as a Point of the last Consequence for securing their Ends, for such People should now be suppressed; (for which Reason the poor Cavaliers were sent a grazing with *Nebuchadnezzar*, without either Pay, or valuable Gratuity) least they might be in a Condition, for the Time to come, to stand up against their Party, for the Rights of the Crown, in Case of any future Revolution. And the Plot being thus laid, the better to compass it without a Noise, a Parcel of Needy, Half-starved Courtiers that followed the King Abroad, and had his Ear at Will, several of them being his chief Privy Counsellors and Privadoes, were gained by great Promises, either of large Scopes of *Irish* Land, or round Sums of *English* Money, to join in the Design; who therefore buzzing Night and Day, in his Majesty's Ear, wrought upon him at last to grant their Desires, to the Ruin of the *Irish* Catholicks, whose Religion, Lands and Loyalty were Crimes too great to be endured by Atheistical Covetous Rebels.

The King then is blameless, you will say, since he followed the Advice of his Council and chief Courtiers. Very far from it: For as our Saviour says, the Blind lead the Blind both shall fall into the Ditch (that is, not only the Guide, but the Guided likewise must suffer; and consequently not only the ill Adv

viser, but the Advised also, is answerable for the Wrongs committed. Had God indeed appointed such Counsellors for him to advise with, a great deal might be said in his Behalf; altho', when old *Adam* offered a Plea much to that Purpose, (*b*) alledging that what the Wise God had given him, made him eat of the forbidden Fruit, 'tis believed that this Plea did rather aggravate, than abate any Thing of his Guilt. But when a Prince has it in his own Power, and consequently is in Justice to himself and his People, obliged to chuse, to the best of his Skill and Knowledge, honest and conscientious Counsellors, to advise with; if he does the Contrary, his following their Dictates is so far from excusing him, that he is accountable in the Sight of God both for their unjust Advice, and his own bad Choice: For by this he exposes himself to evident Danger of being misled, and he that loves the Danger, saith the Son of *Syrach*, (*i*) shall perish therein: And as for the other Part, I think it is no great Matter for one whether he marches towards Hell of his own meer Motion, or is led thither by others, if he arrives there at long run.

A Prince therefore, who seriously minds his Business and has God before his Eyes, must not as to the weighty Affairs of his Government, rely upon the bare Opinion of frail Men, tho' never so able or learned; because they are still subject to be byass'd the wrong Way; but ought rather to weigh and carefully examine, the Grounds and Reasons of such Opinions, and not suffer his own Judgment to be overborn, at least in Matters of Moment, more by others Importunities than their Arguments; as King *Charles* the First expresses it, in his *Icon Basilike*, (*k*) where he reflects

C

on

(*b*) Gen. 3. 12. (*i*) Ecclef. 3. 27. (*k*) 'I re-
'solved

on some fatal Mistakes of this kind committed by himself. For Reason, being a Beam of the Divinity, has of itself no false Byass but tends always towards Truth, as the Seaman's Needle does to the North Pole; so that it is not very difficult for a serious Enquirer to distinguish between true and apparent Reasons, in Matters Right and Wrong, when both are plainly laid before him. But if in stead of making a due Enquiry into the Truth, he hears only one Party, or leaves the Decision of Justice to a sort of Lottery, as a Gamester ventures his Guineas at Hazzard; there is no reasoning in that Case, but to leave him to take his Chance, whether he shall be Miserable or happy, whether Heaven or Hell shall be his Portion.

(1) Yet this is not to be understood, as if the Punishment of publick Injustice were always reserved for the World to come; for we find that even in this Life, signal Judgments have fallen very often upon such Offenders, though not so frequently upon themselves as upon their Posterity, even to the third and fourth Generation: Of which we have a most remark-

' solved to reform that I shou'd by free and full Advice in Parliament, be convinced to be amiss, and
' to grant what ever my Reason and Conscience told me was fit, to be desired, I wish I had kept myself within those Bounds, and not suffer'd my own Judgment to have been overborn in some Things, more by others Importunities than their Arguments, my Confidence had less betrayed myself and my Kingdoms to these Advantages, which some Men sought for, who wanted nothing but Power, and Occasions to do Mischief. *Icon Basil. Chap. 1.*

(1) Publick Injustice Cries for Publick Vengeance.

able

him- ble Instance in the Case of the *Gibeonites*, (m) who
has of y a plain Trick surpris'd *Josbua* into a Prose of
th, an earing their Lives; and when that was discovered,
o than ere content to become Hewers of Wood and Draw-
distin- ers of Water to the *Israhites*, rather then be quite ex-
atters- erted: Nevertheless, when King *Saul* (out of a ve-
before y good Motive, in Appearance, that is, out of Zeal
to the o the Children of *Israel* (n) as it is expressly remark'd
cision in the Holy Scriptures) took an Oecasion to destroy
atures- these miserable Slaves, altho' himself and his Son *Jo-*
a that- *abban* came soon after to an untimely End; yet so far
ether- was that heavy Judgment from satisfying the Divine
en or- justice, that in King *David's* Time the Hand of God
Pun- came upon the whole Country, for three Years toge-
d for- ther, and was not taken off, until seven of *Saul's* Po-
n this- sterity were Sacrificed, to atone for the Cruelties by
upon- him committed upon the poor *Gibeonites*, contrary to
hem- the publick Faith given them by *Josbua*. There is no
and- Doubt but God is infinitely Merciful; and it is well
mark- for us all, that he is so; yet he does not pardon all
Ad- Crimes alike; for private or personal Offences he is
and- very apt to forgive upon a sincere Repentance; but
told- national Injuries he never forgets without a full and
yself- ample Reparation.
own-
ings,
ents,
my
Men
and

Ad- But enough of this Point at present, (o) let us now
and- take a view of the very Machine, which has com-
told- pleated the Mystery of Iniquity, I mean the wicked
yself- Acts of Settlement: The Settlement; indeed of Re-
own- sels and Traytors, but the Ruin of Loyal Subjects.
ings, This Idol, this great *Diana* of the *Ephesians*, consists
ents, of several Parts, viz. First, the King's Declaration
my for the Settlement of *Ireland*: Secondly, his Instruc-
Men- tions for the said Declaration: Thirdly, the Act itself,
and

nce. (m) *Josbua* 3 4 15. (n) 2 *Sam.* 21, 7, 2. (o)
able The Act of Settlement partly anatomized.

or the Parliament's worthy Comment upon both: And in the Year of all, comes up the Dragon's Tail, the famous Act of Explanation. Where it is to be observed, that the *Cromwellians of Ireland* were so sensible of the unreasonableness of what they gained at long run, that they had not the Face to propose it in the beginning but working like Moles under Ground, and by Degrees growing bold with their unexpected Success they gained at length three Times more than they would have freely compounded for upon the King's Restoration. And this is the true Reason why the whole Settlement is but a continued Series of Contrivances and Contradictions, so palpable repugnant the one to the other that the Wit of Man cannot reconcile them. For in the Declaration there are several Clauses, which tended so far to do Justice to the *Irish* that if these had been made Good, many Thousands of the Natives would of Course have been restored. To prevent therefore so dangerous a Piece of Justice the Instructions were soon after designedly framed to restrain the Latitude in the Declaration; and most of the favourable Clauses then remaining were cut short by the several Proviso's inserted in the Act; and last of all, the small Gleanings then left were entirely swept away by the Act of Explanation, by which they were barr'd for ever, except a few Proviso Men mentioned in the Act, and some others, who a little before had the good luck to pass the Tryal of Obedience in the Court of Claims.

(p) The *Irish* Catholics, who then expected to be restored to their former Possessions, were under three several Qualifications: First, the Innocents, who never bore Arms with the Confederates before the Peace.

(p) The Catholics entitled to Estates in *Ireland*

48 was concluded: Secondly, those they called Ensignmen, who had served beyond Sea under his Majesty's Ensigns during his Exile: And lastly, such of the Confederates as were entitled to claim the Benefit of publick Faith, engaged to them by the said Peace. The King was fully resolved to do Justice to all these, or, as to the Innocents, their very Enemies had not Impudence enough to offer any Thing against their being restored: And, for the Ensignmen, they deserved so well of the King Abroad, and their Services were so fresh in his Memory, that none durst move directly to have them excluded: And even for the rest, who had nothing to Plead but the Peace of 48, so sensible was his Majesty of the indispensable Obligations, that lay upon him both in Honour and Conscience, to make good the said Peace; that he caused a Clause to be inserted in the Declaration, in these Words: " We could not forget the Peace that ourself was afterwards necessitated to make with our *Irish* Subjects, in the Time when they, who wickedly usurped the Authority in this Kingdom, had erected that odious Court for the taking away the Life of our dear Father. — And therefore we could not but hold ourself obliged to perform what we owe by that Peace to those, who had honestly and faithfully performed what they had promised to us. (g)

On the other Side, the *Cromwellians* and their hired Partizans at Court, finding the King so resolute in the Matter, and not daring directly to oppose such honourable and King-like Intentions, seemed to go along with him in the same Sentiments, but as they sent this politick Tour A-la-mode, they cunningly contrived to put such Rubs in his Way, as brought

(g) *Irish* Statutes, Page 506.

him insensibly to their own Point: For, in the first Place, they made his Majesty believe, and laid it as a fundamental Maxim, that there were forfeited Lands more than enough in *Ireland* to satisfy all just Pretenders: Then they represented, it was but reasonable that the new Interest Protestants should be first provided for; at least, that they should be settled next after the innocent Papists. And these two Points being granted, and established as the Foundation of the whole Fabrick, the wildest Sectaries and rankest Fanaticks in the three Kingdoms, who had nothing of Christianity but the Name, having always been as Atheistical in Religion, as Antimonarchial in Reverence to Government, became all of a sudden under this Protestant Cloak, the Darlings of both Church and State. A most blessed Reformation.

No, these Protestants, who were thus to be secured of new Estates in *Ireland*, were likewise of three Sorts (*r*) First, the Adventurers, who for dog-cheap Bargains of Irish Lands advanced several Sums of Money in *London* upon the Credit of the Acts 17 and 18 *Caroli*, for reducing the Rebels of that Kingdom; the most Part of which Money, instead of it's being sent into *Ireland*, was employed by the Rebel Parliament to raise that Army, which fought the King at *Edgehill*, and that by the Adventurers own Consent, then sitting at *Grocer's-Hall*. This was no Secret, but so well known to King *Charles* the first, who caused it to be objected to the Parliament Commissioners, at the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, that in all his Proposals and Treaties of Pacification with the Confederate Irish, he never made the least Mention of the Adventurers Titles to any Lands in that Kingdom; which certainly so just a Prince, as he was known to be, wou'd never have

(*r*) The Adventurers Title.

was d in Silence; had he believed there lay the least Obligation upon him by the said Acts for to make any Provision for that Interest. And King *Charles* the Second was no less sensible of the Nullity of their Title, as appears by his very Declaration, where he says, ' In the first Place, in order to a Settlement of that Interest claim'd by the Adventurers, altho' the present Estates and Possessions they enjoy, if they were examined by the strict Letter of the Law, wou'd prove very defective and invalid, as being no Ways pursuant to those Acts of Parliament, upon which they pretended to be found, &c' (s)

Nevertheless, let their Crimes be never so great, and their Title never so invalid, never so unreasonable, secured they must be in all their Possessions; and not only such Adventurers as advanced their Money upon the Credit of the aforesaid Statutes, but even those of the doubling Ordinance, who, upon the bare Votes or Orders of the Rump-Parliament, zealously advanced very considerable Sums, on purpose to carry on that horrible Rebellion against the King, in *England*, are (t) put upon an equal Foot with the former, and both secured of large Estates, for one or two Years Purchase.

(u) Secondly, *Cromwell's* Soldiers, to whom indeed that Tyrant was much obliged, because they, with the rest of their Tribe in *England*, raised him from a mean Condition to be absolute Master of three Kingdoms, for which Service he gave twelve entire Counties of *Ireland*, to be divided among them: Yet this was intended only by Way of Mortgage, until their Arrears were paid; for he never wou'd give them any

(s) Irish Stat. Page 507. (t) Irish Stat. Page 559
(u) The Debenturer's Title.

Sorts of Letters-patent for those Estates, or any other Grant than during Pleasure; which the Soldiers knew so well, that as fast as they could find Purchasers, they sold their Interest for a Song, and others became Rich by the Bargain; because now by the Declaration, they and their Assigns are secured in their Possessions, which are settled upon them, not for any limited Time, but to them and their Heirs for ever. A very noble Reward indeed from a King for fighting against his Crown, when those that fought for it to the last, were stripped and sent a begging: A reward which these Rebels cou'd never expect from *Cromwell* himself, who designed after a While to despoise of these twelve Counties, for other Ends of his own, and certainly he could not but dispose of them to better purpose than the Declaration has done.

(w) Thirdly, the Officers who had served the King in Ireland at any Time before the fifth of *June 1649*, whose Arrears were summa'd up by themselves to Eighteen Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling. And this most extravagant Bill of Accompts, whereof the tenth Part cou'd not be possibly due, was very readily allowed of by the Adventurers and Soldiers, whose Maxim was, *Claw me, and I will Claw you*. For they wisely considered, that several of these Forty-nine Officers had some Colour of Merit, while themselves had none at all to pretend; and for that Reason, they thought it necessary to bring them into Play, in order to give the better Gloss to their Proceedings, and to strengthen their Interest. In consideration thereof, and of the said pretended Arrears, (while the Brave and truly Loyal Cavaliers of *England* received besides the noisy Grant of a ridiculous Lottery; but Seventy Thousand Pounds for all their faithful Services during the War,

(w) The 49 Officer's Title

and

and their great Sufferings under the Usurpation) our forty nine Officers were most liberally allowed all the forfeited Lands of four Counties, and within a Mile of the *Shannon*, or of the Sea, in the Province of *Connaught*, and County of *Clare*, and all the forfeited Houses and Tenements, in the several walled Towns and Corporations in the Kingdom, not already sett out to Adventurers or Soldiers, together with the Right of Redemption of Mortgages, Statutes Staple, Judgments, &c. belonging to Catholicks, and over and above all this, a hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, in ready Money upon a very frivolous Account: Altho' it was well known, that most of these Officers, thus bountifully rewarded, either were in actual Rebellion, in Summer, 1649, and for many Years before, as the Earl of *Orrery*, Earl of *Mountrath*, Lord *Kingston*, Lord *Colony*, Sir *Theophilus Jones*, Sir *Oliver St. George*, Sir *John Cole*, and several others, or did soon after desert the King's Army and join with the Usurper; for which good Service they were gratefully recompenced by *Cromwell*, with large Debenture Lands, or other equivalent Gratuities. Yet this signified nothing against them upon his Majesty's Restoration, for not only such of the said forty nine Officers as deserted the King's Standard, but even those who were treacherously instrumental in the betraying of several considerable Towns and Garrisons into the Usurper's Hands, were by the Act of Settlement allowed their forty nine Arrears, if within two Years after that Act, they could make appear to the Chief Governour of *Ireland*, and any six of the Council, that they made some Repair for their former Faults, by their timely and seasonable Appearance for the King's Restoration. (x) And we may be sure, very slight Repairs were thought sufficient to atone for those venial Slips of our reformed Saints:

For, even as in *John Calvin's* new System of Divinity, *Let the Elect commit never so great Enormities they are still blameless, still Babes of Grace, because no Sin can be imputed to them*: So it seems, let our Godly Reformers be engaged every Moon in the blackest Treason imaginable, they must pass, nevertheless, for his Majesty's most loyal and dutiful Subjects, and never be treated like Rebels, but rather highly Rewarded, as if they had done their Prince good Service. But the Reprobate Papists are still to be damned as to this World, let them be never so innocent, and signalize their Loyalty never so much. And therefore, altho' the Declaration (y) made no Distinction of forty nine Officers, whether Protestant or Papist, but ordered that all should be satisfied equally for their Arrears; yet (z) by the Instructions, and subsequent Acts of Parliament, the Papists (except the Marquis of *Clanrikard* and Sir *Geo. Hamilton*, who, through Favour, got particular Proviso's) (a) were utterly excluded, notwithstanding that none of them ever deserted the King's Standard, but held out to the last against the Usurper.

The late King being thus far wrought and strangely imposed upon, to reward his inveterate Enemies, who now became Great by being thorough paced Rebels, 'tis needless to wonder that he has made no better Provision for his known Friends. Yet certain it is, that his Majesty was so far from intending to deprive the Catholics of *Ireland* of their Birth-right, that he was fully resolved at first to do them all the Justice imaginable; and would have certainly done it, but that he was perfidiously circumvented by those he confided in; who, notwithstanding all their pretended Loyalty, did always prefer their own Ends before their Prince's In-

(y) *Irisb Statutes*, page 509. (z) *Ibid.* page 588.
(a) *Ibid.* page 879. 888.

erest, and therefore took all possible Care to obstruct his Majesty's good Intentions towards his *Irish* Subjects.

(b) And, in the first Place, because the Innocents were the only Catholicks restorable without previous Reprisals. they framed ten or eleven Qualifications to render in a manner impossible for any *Irish* Catholicks to be adjudged Innocent; and got the same inserted in his Majesty's Instructions for the Execution of the said Declaration, as the Ground-work of all their Proceedings. In the very first of these (c) Qualifications it is established; "That none should be restored as an innocent Papist, who being of full Age and sound Memory, enjoyed his Estate Real or Personal in the Rebels Quarters:" By which Clause only we may easily judge of the rest; and discover what little Justice the *Irish* were to expect. For, upon this Account, not only those that lived peaceable in the Country, and never took up Arms either on the one side or the other, but also such of them as were actually in the King's Service in *England*, if they received but the least Benefit out of their Estates in *Ireland* at any Time during the War, were to be deemed Nocent, and their Estates conferred upon those, who at the same Time zealously fought against the King.

For the Trial of these Innocents under the several Qualifications aforesaid, a Court of Claims was erected in *Dublin*, just after the Model fram'd by *Cromwell*, in the Year 1654. for the Transplantees of *Connaught* and the County of *Clare*, with this only difference, that the Usurper's Court was much the more impartial of the two: For, in the first, whether the *Cromwel-*

(b) Of the Court of Claims and Qualification of Innocent Claimants. (c) Ibid. page 153.

lians wanted Money to suborn Witnesſes, or were not ſo well acquainted with the profligate Wretches, who were ready to earn their Bread with the Sweat of their Conſcience, few of thoſe mercenary Villains were produced, in Compariſon of the Latter, where they appeared in great Shoales, and wanted not the Countenance and Favour of the Court. And in the former, the few Catholicks that moved for a tranſplanted Intereſt, were not ſtinted in Point of Time to make out their Claims; but in the latter, fix Months were hardly allowed for hearing all the Claimants in the Kingdom. For the Court ſat but on the 15th Day of February, 1662-3, and ended about the middle of Auguſt following: During which Time near upon a thouſand Catholicks came to a Tryal, and no leſs than the one half were decreed Innocents: Notwithſtanding all the rigid Qualifications and ſuborned Witneſſes againſt them, who appeared in ſuch Swarms, that it would require a large Volume to give but a ſummary Account of all their villainous Practices upon this Occaſion; for which Reaſon I think it is needleſs to deſcend to Particulars. Yet one inſtance I cannot omit, becauſe the Gentleman himſelf is ſtill in Being, and at this Time in France, and has at leaſt one living Witneſs of the Injuſtice done him now at the Court of St. Germain. Mr. Francis Betagh of Moynalty, whoſe Anceſtors for ſeven or eight hundred Years together, were in the Poſſeſſion of a conſiderable Eſtate in the County of Meath, was but nine Years of Age in October, 41; yet he was ſworn in the Court of Claims to have been then in actual Rebellion, at the Head of a Foot Company; plundering and ſtripping the Proteſtants, and that by two of the meaneſt Scoundrels of the whole Kingdom, hired for that Purpoſe, whereof one was then and there proved not to have been three Years old at the Time of that Inſurrection; and the other no way qualified to be believed, when the Gentry of the whole Country declared and teſtified the Contrary.

Nevertheless,

Nevertheless, upon the bare Oaths of these Fellows, the Gentleman was adjudged Nocent by the Court, and, although the Perjury was afterwards more fully detected, insomuch, that Sir *Richard Ransford* (Chief Commissioner or Judge of that Court) when the Marchioness of *Antrim* expostulated the Matter with him, plainly acknowledged the Injustice of it, to herself, to the new Earl of *Limerick*, and to other Persons of Quality, yet no Redress cou'd be had for the Gentleman nor any Remedy to be expected, while the Inchantment of the Act of Settlement was of Force.

By these abominable Practices some hundreds of ancient and loyal Gentlemen were stript of their Birth-right, being thus incurably infected by the poisonous Breath of profligate Wretches: But the matter of 7000 (d) Claimants more that remained, could not obtain even so much Justice or Satisfaction as to have this very Change of the Inheritance of their Father's. For, altho' they had as much Right to be heard as the other, because every one is to be reputed Innocent, 'till he is proved the Contrary; yet they were then put off for want of Time, and never allowed any sort of Tryal from that Day to this; but rather to cut off all future Hopes, a new Act was soon after framed, called the Act of Explanation, very remarkable for the following Clause, by which they are for ever debarred: "It is hereby declared, that no Person or Persons, who by the Qualifications in the said former Act hath not been adjudged Innocent, shall at any Time hereafter be reputed Innocent, so as to claim any Lands or Tenements hereby vested, or be admitted to have any Benefit or Allowance of any future Abjudication of Innocence, or any Benefit of Articles whatsoever." (e)

(d) The Catholics condemned unheard. (e) Irish Statutes, page 800.

After

After this Unchristian, or rather Inhuman Usage to so many 'Thousands of innocent Persons who are thus condemned unheard, a Practice never known amongst any civiliz'd Heathens, it cannot seem very strange that the Loyal Ensign Men were ungratefully dealt with, for all their signal Services and Sufferings during the King's Exile. 'Tis true, his Majesty was resolved, as I hinted before, to do Justice to all his *Irish* Subjects, especially his Ensign-men and some other meritting Persons, for whom he caused a Particular Proviso to be inserted in the Declaration. But the Cabal to render his good Intention ineffectual, having first possessed his Majesty with the Fancy, that he had forfeited Lands more than enough in *Ireland* to satisfy all just Pretenders, obtained the small Favour for their dear Adventurers and Soldiers, who were undoubtedly very worthy Men in old *Shaftsbury's* Dialect, that they should not be removed for any Ensign-man, or meritting Persons whatsoever, before they were assigned Reprizals of equal Value, Worth and Purchase; which they well knew, was not to be had in *Europe*, as Matters were managed, unless *Obrasile* was discovered or a new *Ireland* created. And having gained that main Point, which proved a Padlock upon all the Favours intended by the King for the aforesaid Loyalists, they got this wonderful Reason to pass for it in the Declaration: "*The Irish, for whom we do hereby intend Satisfaction, are such who have been Abroad with us, who probably being not furnished with Stock or other Provisions, may with less Inconvenience wait for a Reprizal, than to dispossess others,*" (who no doubt had by that Time well feathered their Nests, by their ill-got Estates, tho' poor enough, as became such pitiful Mechanicks, coming out of *England*) "*especially, since we are fully assured that a very short Time will assign them their Respective Reprisals; there being so good and large Portions of undisposed forfeited Lands in our Power,*"

" reserved

reserved for this Purpose. (f)' Which sublime Fan-
 is in plain *English* to this Effect: 'Because the *Crom-*
wellians of Ireland are of late used to fare very well,
 having acquired by fighting against me, plentiful Es-
 tates and considerable Stocks to live upon, 'tis not
 convenient to disturb them; but my Ensign-men have
 quitted all at home, and chearfully endured Starving,
 and several other Hardships, to serve me Abroad,
 'tis reasonable therefore they should Starve on, 'till I
 provide for them on *Doomsday* in the Afternoon.' I
 must confess, I cannot possibly believe that the late
 King intended to use these Loyalists after so strange a
 Manner; but that they were actually served so, is
 most certain and undeniable. Neither can any Prince
 who suffers himself to be led by such wicked Coun-
 cellors, reasonably expect ever to do better.

Now as soon as the Cabal had gained this single
 Point, That the Adventurers and Soldiers should not
 be removed without previous Reprizals, their next
 great Business was, to take Care that no Reprizals
 should be left, and consequently none of the said me-
 ritting Persons ever restored; to the end that this Us-
 age might for the future prove an Encouragement to
 their own Party to pursue their good old Cause, and
 a Warning-Piece to others not to play the Fool for
 Loyalty.

(g) To compleat therefore so martial a Project, Mat-
 ters were so cunningly contrived by them, that all the
 undisposed forfeited Lands were given away in most
 prodigal Grants to *Ormond, Anglesey, Orrery, Coote,*
Kingston and other Grantees; and great Proportions
 for pious Uses forsooth, to make themselves Friends of

(f) *Irish Statutes* page 517. (g) Grantees obtain
 unreasonable Grants.

the

the *Mammon* (b) of Unrighteousness, of which the College of DUBLIN, and several Free-Schools, their Bishops, and others of their Clergy, had considerable Shares, besides a great many Gifts and Grants, to others who were no Way Qualified by the Declaration to have any such Provision made for them. And all this was industriously carried on, as I hinted before, to the End that the Stock of Reprizals might be so far exhausted, that nothing should be left to Reprize the *Cromwellians*, who without such Reprizals were not to budge, or quit their Possession of those Gentlemen's Estates, whom the King intended to restore, either as Officers that served him Abroad, or special Privileged Men, or as Persons entitled to the Peace of forty-eight; which wicked Contrivance took so effectually, that not one Man of all these was restored to his Birth-right, notwithstanding all the fair Promises given, and the seeming Provision made for them by the Declaration: Inasmuch that fifty four Nominees (who by special Interest and Favour got a proviso in the Act of Explanation (i) to have their respective Mansion-Houses or principal Seats, and 2000 Acres of Land thereunto adjoining) found themselves Nominees in good Earnest, that is *Nomine Restorable non re*, according to *Orrery's* Ironical Raillery: For very few of them got any considerable Advantage, and none at all that ever I could find, the full Benefit of that Clause, for want of Reprizals to be first assigned to the *Cromwellian* Possessors. And to make them all set their Hearts at rest, and rather to deprive them of their very Hopes, the (k) Clause formerly mentioned was inserted in the famous Act of Explanation, which debars them for ever of all future Relief. And as a further Addition to their Comfort, these mighty Solons well knowing that they

(b) Luke 16. p. (i) *Irish Stat.* page 863. (k) *Irish Stat.* page 800.

observe neither Law nor Gospel in their Proceedings, but that their whole Fabrick was a meer Bable, composed of so many strange Incoherences, palpable Absurdities, and irreconcilable Contradictions, that the ablest Lawyers in *England* often declared, they knew not how to ground an Opinion in Law upon such Sand-Foundations, found the way at last to make all this Mist appear as clear for their Purpose as the Sun at Noon-day, and that with as much Ease as the *Madon* Youth untied the Gordian Knot: For they once declared and Enacted, that if any Doubt should arise on any Clause in either of the said Acts, the same should be always construed in favour of the Protestants, as being principally intended to be settled and secured. (1)

This was going through Stitch with the Business, and it was indeed the finishing Stroke of the whole Work, which has compleated the Mystery of Iniquity beyond all Manner of Dispute, and left the poor Catholics no room to demand or expect Justice, at least from *Cromwellian* Judges and Juries.

Thus were these unfortunate Loyalists utterly disappointed, notwithstanding their great Hopes reasonably grounding on their many Services to the King both at Home and Abroad, and his Majesty's repeated Promise to them upon that Account; and after all their tedious and chargeable Attendance about Court, no other Provision was made for them but to live upon the Air, 'till God was pleased to call both them and their King to State their Accompts in the other World; where, I'm sure Starved Honesty is of greater Value, than the Empire of the Universe either ill acquired, or unjustly administered: Because as King *Charles* the

(1) *Irish* Stat page 828.

first most excellently words it, *As many Kingdoms as the Devil shew'd our Saviour, and the Glory of them (if they could be at once enjoyed) are not worth the gaining, by Ways of sinful Ingratitude and Dishonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds than this bath Kingdoms (m).* For it is a true Saying, *Deus non irridetur (n).* God is not to be laughed at by worldly Greatness, but is rather provoked to deal more severely with Sovereign Princes for their Injustice, because they are accountable to none for their Actions, but to Himself alone: For which Reason, the Royal Prophet thus very pathetically Speaks to the Almighty; *Shall the Throne of Iniquity have Fellowship with Thee, which frameth Mischief by a Law? (o)* But his wise Son King Solomon, while inspired by the Holy Ghost, treats more fully of the Matter in his admirable Book of Wisdom, Chap. VI. where he says, "Iniquity shall lay waste the whole Earth, and ill-dealing overthrow the Thrones of the Mighty. Hear therefore, O ye Kings and Understand; Learn ye, that the Judges of the Ends of the Earth. Give Ear, you that rule the People, and glory in the Multitude of Nations. For Power is given you of the Lord, and Sovereignty from the Highest, who shall try your Works, and search out your Counsels. Because being Ministers of his Kingdom, you have not judged aright, nor kept the Law, nor walked after the Counsel of God; horribly and speedily shall he come upon you; For a sharp Judgment shall be to them that be in high Places. For Mercy will soon pardon the Meanest, but the Mighty shall be mightily tormented. For he which is Lord over all, shall fear no Man's Person, neither shall he stand in Awe of any Man's Greatness; for he hath made the Small and the Great, and careth for all alike."

(m) Icon. Basil. chap 5. (n) Gal. 6. 7. (o) Psal. The
94. 29.

The Consideration of this necessary Point of Christian Doctrine, which mainly concerns all Men in Power, but more particularly Sovereign Princes, made King *Charles* the First express himself so feelingly about *Strafford's* illegal Attainder; "I am so far," says he, (p) "for excusing or denying that Compliance on my Part (for plenary Consent it was not) to his Destruction, whom in my Judgment I thought not, by any clear Law guilty of Death, that I never bear any Touch of Conscience with greater Regret, which as Sign of my Repentance, I have often with Sorrow confess'd both to God and Man, as an Act of sinful Frailty, that discovered more a Fear of Man than of God, whose Name and Place on Earth no Man is worthy to bear, who will avoid Inconveniences of State by Acts of so high Injustice, as no publick Convenience can expiate, or compensate. --- Nor has God's Justice failed in the Event and sad Consequences to shew the World the Fallacy of that Maxim," *Better one Man perish tho' unjustly, than the People be displeased or destroyed.* "This Tenderness and Regret I find in my Soul, for having had any Hand, (and that very willingly, God knows) in shedding one Man's Blood unjustly, tho' under the Colour and Formalities of Justice, and Pretences of avoiding publick Mischief."

Now, if this good, tho' unfortunate King, was so deeply touched for having given Way to the Fury of an ungovernable Faction against the Life of one Man only, who was undeniably guilty, altho' not of Treason, yet of several other Enormities during his Government of *Ireland*; how much must we think he would have been concerned, had he had the Misfortune of passing the unparalleled Act of Settlement;

which wanted on the one Hand such pressing Motives as attended *Strafford's* Attainder, and plainly exposed on the other, instead of one single Sufferer, who upon the main was not guilty, the Lives of many Thousands of Innocent and Loyal Persons, not to a speedy Death, for that would have been a Sort of Mercy, but to a tedious lingering one, by unavoidable Starving? An Act of Accumulative Injustice in plain Terms, by which the worst of Traytors, and vilest of Republican Rebels, were most prodigally rewarded: Loyal Subjects that had for many Years signalized themselves in the Service of the Crown, not only disappointed of their deserved and promised Recompence, but condemned unheard, and stript of their very Birth-right to gratify their Enemies: A vast Number, of poor Widows and Orphans, sent a Begging: Publick Faith most notoriously violated! and to sum up the whole Matter in a few Words, Justice perverted in all its Branches and Degrees.

There is no Doubt but the late King was grossly abused and imposed upon, by his wicked Ministers, to suffer all this Injustice to pass for his Act and Deed; but then the Question naturally arises, Who obliged him to employ such Ministers, or, at least, to allow them the Latitude to abuse his Regal Authority at such a prodigious Rate? I am sure, he had done infinitely better, if, according to *Solomon's* [q] Royal Father, who by a dear bought Experience, found how fatal it was to a Crown-Head, to trust People of such Principles with the weighty Affairs of his Government: And therefore in his last Advice to the Prince of *Wales*, he leaves him for a Legacy this most excellent Lesson: "My Counsel and Charge to you is, that you seriously consider the former real or objected Miscarriages,

[7] Prov. 2. 8.

“ which might occasion my Troubles that you may avoid them. Never repose so much upon any Man’s single Counsel, Fidelity and Discretion, in managing Affairs of the first Magnitude, that is, Matters of Religion and Justice; as to create in yourself or others a Diffidence of your own Judgments, which is likely to be always more constant and impartial to the Interest of your Crown than any Man’s With an equal Eye, and impartial Hand, distribute Favours and Rewards to all Men, as you find them for their real Goodness, both in Abilities and Fidelity capable of them. This will be sure to gain you the Hearts of the best, and of the worst too: who tho’ they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer Ways of Virtue at any time sweetened by temporal Rewards.

These are most excellent Documents indeed, vastly different from that famous Maxim of old *Clarendon*, *Make much of your Enemies, and your Friends will do you no harm*; which yet, being unluckily preferred before the other, was practised so long after the Restoration, that not only such as were Neuters or Indifferent, but even those who till then were fast Friends to the Crown, became at last it’s severest Enemies: Wherefore, since Experience is the Mother of Knowledge, we cannot but conclude, that the former Rule is good and solid, but the latter most pernicious to Government. But what our Royal Author adds a little after towards the Conclusion of this his Fatherly Advice, speaks so much Greatness of Mind and Christian Resignation, that I cannot in Justice to his Memory pass it over in Silence: “ If neither I nor you, be even restored to our Rights, yet God in his severest Justice will punish my Subjects with Continuance in their Sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the Prosperity of their Wickedness; I hope God will give me and you that Grace, which will teach and enable us to want, as
“ well

“ well as to wear a Crown which is not worth taking
 “ up or enjoying, upon sordid, dishonourable or irre-
 “ ligious Terms.”

Had these solid, and wholesome Instructions, been duly observed in the last Reign, neither *English* Cavalier, nor *Irish* Loyalist should now have any such Cause of Complaint; nor the [r] Crown perhaps be obnoxious to such strange Revolutions, as the World has of late been astonished at. And, as for the Excuse alledged, I think it is but a very sorry one for a Christian Prince, to throw the Blame of publick Acts of Injustice upon his Ministers; since it cannot be denied, but that he himself, is nevertheless answerable in the Sight of God for all the Wrongs committed. For, in all Tribunals, the Principal is still accountable for the Actions of his Deputy: And it is a Rule in Reason, approved of by the very Heathens, that Men in Power are reckoned to Authorize those Crimes which they can, and will not hinder. *Qui non velat peccare, cum posset, jubet.* Neither is Holy Writ less plain in the Matter: For, to say nothing of King *Ahab* [who had no Hand in the Murder of *Naboth*, but that his [s] Name and his Seal were made Use of, and yet his Sentence is pronounced by [t] God's own Appointment, as if he acted all himself] we have a dreadful Example of *Eli* the High-Priest; who, after he had judged *Israel* forty Years, came to a miserable End for Crimes committed, not by himself, but by his [u] Reprobate Children: And as a further Judgment upon him, for tolerating such Wickedness in Persons under his imme-

[r] Because of unrighteous Dealings, Injuries and Riches got by Deceit, the Kingdom is translated from one People to another; saith the Son of *Syrach*, *Ecclesiasticus* 10. 8. [s] 1. Kings 12. 8. [t] *Ibid.* 5. 19. [u] *Sam.* 3. 13. &c.

iate Care, the High Priesthood is quite transferred to another Family.

This puts me in Mind of a very notable Passage in Mr. de Balzac's ingenious *Aristippus*, where having very descryed, in his seventh Discourse, the Mischiefs so frequently committed by wicked Ministers, and insolent Favourites, he thus finely Reasons upon the Matter: " All this while the Prince commits no Sin, and yet he forbears not to be guilty. His Ignorance is unpardonable, his Patience is no Virtue, and all the Disorder, which either he knows not of, or which he tolerates, is imputed to him before God, as himself had committed it. With a great deal of Reason therefore that Prince, was made according to God's own Heart; he desires him in express Terms, and that in the Fervency of his most ardent Prayers, that he would cleanse him from secret Faults, and acquit him from the Sins of others. Now this last Word does it not plainly imply, that King's ought not content themselves with a personal and particular Innocence; and that it matters not for them to be Just as to their own Actions, if they lose themselves by the Injustice of their Ministers?

" And here [continues the same *Aristippus*] I cannot omit an extraordinary Rapture formerly express'd to this Purpose by a Religious Man of Italy in a Sermon he preached before the Prince of that Country, wherein as he discoursed of the Duties of Sovereigns, he all of a sudden breaks fourth in these Words, addressing himself to the Prince: *Last Night, Sir, I had a very strange Vision; Methought the Earth opened before me, and I distinctly looked in the Centre thereof. I considered the Torments of the other Life, and all that terrible Train of God's Justice, since which my Imagination is scarce well reassum'd. Amongst the Wicked of former Ages I knew*
 " a great

" a great many of this; Detractors, Murderers, in
 " pious Persons, and Hypocrites, ran thither in great
 " Troops, and crouded at the Brim of this Gulf; but
 " having observed in their Lives the visible Marks
 " their Reprobation, I thought it not strange to see them
 " arrive whereto I had seen them March. What astonished
 " ished me extremely above all was, that I perceived
 " your Highness in this unhappy Throng, which was
 " at the Brink of Destruction; And even as I was
 " thus surprized and affrighted by the Novelty
 " such an unexpected Encounter, I cryed out to your
 " Highness, is it possible that a Man should damn him-
 " self by praying to God, and that you should go to
 " Hell, You, Sir, who are the best and most religious
 " Prince in the World? Whereupon your Highness
 " answered me with a Sigh, I do not go, Father, but
 " am led thither."

On the other Side, altho' we should wave
 Thoughts of another Life, and fancy with those men-
 tioned in Holy [w] Scripture, or with the philosophers
 Philosophers of Antiquity, either that there is a
 Divine Providence, or that it takes no Care of human
 Affairs; yet if we seriously Consider how Justice has
 in all Ages been reputed so noble and so divine a Per-
 fection, deservedly stiled by Cicero, The Mistress
 Queen of all Virtues, that not only the wisest among
 the Heathens even held it for a fundamental Maxim
Fiat Justitia & ruat Cælum, but even the most pro-
 gate of Mankind did always love and admire it in the
 they dealt with; whence it became a Proverb, *Justitia
 etiam inter Latrones*: We cannot but still conclude
 that nothing is more impolitick in a Prince than
 commit any publick Injustice, because nothing can re-

[w] 14. 1. Nubes latibulum ejus, nec nostra consi-
 derate, & circa Carenes Cæli per ambulat, Job. 22.

er him more odious to his People: For, as the saying is, He threatens many, that injures any; *Multis mi-*
natur, qui facit uni injuriam; and as Sovereigns
 sometimes Love the Treason, yet still hate the Tray-
 or, let his Services be never so considerable; so are
 unjust Princes evermore hated by their Subjects, even
 by those who are Gainers by the Injustice; because
 this gives them Reason to apprehend, it may be their
 own Turn one Day or other to be served by him in the
 same Manner.

No King since the Creation of the Universe, has
 proved so bountiful to the worst of Rebels at the Cost
 of his faithful Subjects, as *Charles* the Second has done
 to the *Cromwellians* of *Ireland*; yet so far was this
 extraordinary Bounty from gaining their Affections,
 that in 1663, they framed a general Conspiracy against
 him, which being seasonably discovered in *Dublin*,
 was hushed for that Time, with the Execution of three
 insignificant Fellows; while the Ring-Leaders, who
 were thought able to break through the Cob-web Law,
 with all the rest of their Fellow Traytors, were fully
 pardoned their justly forfeited Lives, and their unjust-
 ly acquired Estates. But, altho' the King forgave the
 Plotters, they never intended to forgive him; and
 therefore about the Year 1671, they fell to work a-
 gain in order to renew the same Design; but that al-
 so being nipp'd in the Bud, and stifled without any
 Blood-shed, they thought fit to lie by for a While, un-
 til *Oates's* Plot in 79 inspired them with new Courage.
 Then they appeared barefaced, and none could be
 more violent then they for unhinging the Government
 by their sham Plots, and impudent Address'es for car-
 rying on the Anarchical Bill of Exclusion. And when
 that Project happily miscarried, they were all ready, had
 the expected Blow been given by the Rye-house Con-
 spirators, to join Heart in Hand in the Extirpation of
 the Monarchy, Root and Branch; in order to clear the

Way, and make Room for their Darling Common-Wealth. Behold the blessed Fruits of that Politick Maxim, *Make much of your Enemies*, &c.

In short, we find by the Experience of all Ages, that *Honesty is the best Policy*, and the only sure Rule we can walk by, through the *Egyptian Mists* of human Affairs. King *Charles* the First, however imposed upon in the Beginning of his Troubles, was at last convinced of the Truth of this, and of the Fallacy of other Maxims, when he delivered himself in these most Christian Expressions: "God has been pleased to send me those Judgments upon me as a Means to teach me that the best Rule of Policy is to prefer the doing of Justice before all Enjoyments, and the Peace of my Conscience before the Preservation of my Kingdom." (y) The Case therefore being such, what shall People think of those Statesmen who labour Night and Day to draw their sovereign out of this plain and easy Road, into the narrow crooked Paths of their own subtil and selfish Inventions? Sure they cannot be supposed to mean well, or to have any better Design than to wheedle their Master into a Labyrinth, where he must either quite loose himself, or for ever own the Obligation to their Skill, if they chance to help him out of those Intricacies, into which themselves had before inveigled him.

Upon the whole Matter, I think it is but reasonable to conclude, that as there is no better or safer Rule of Policy, both for Prince and People, than to deal justly and honestly with all the World: So nothing is more necessary for Sovereigns, than carefully to mark and avoid those, who would perswade them to Steer their Course by any other Compass: Which Truth the

(y) Icon Basil. chap. 2.

ifest of Monarchs was very sensible of, when he pronounced that excellent Sentence: *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be established in Righteousness.* (z) For it is evident, that whoever advises his Prince, under the Notion of poli-
tick Convenience, to act contrary to the known Rules of Justice; or to endeavour the establishing his Throne upon any other Foundation than the natural Pillars of Government; due Rewards and Punishments impartially distributed; cannot wish his Reign either prosperous or lasting, and therefore ought to be reckoned amongst the worst of his Enemies.

TO THE

KING's most Excellent Majesty.

The faithful PROTESTATION and Humble REMONSTRANCE, of the ROMAN CATHOLICK Nobility and Gentry of IRELAND. (a)

YOUR Majesty's faithful Subjects, the Roman Catholick Nobility and Gentry of your Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, out of a deep Sense of those prodigious Afflictions, under which the Monarchy of *Great Britain* has before your Majesty's happy Restoration groaned these twenty Years; and out of our Thoughts, which daily bring more and more Sighs from our Breasts, and Tears from our Eyes, for, not only, the still as yet continued Miseries and Sufferings of the Catholick Natives, of that our unfortunate Coun-

(z) Prov. 25. 5. (a) To King *Charles* 2d, after the Restoration.

try, even amidst and ever since the so much famed Joys and Triumphs of your sacred Majesty's most auspicious Inauguration; but also of the Causes, whereunto we have made the most narrow Search we could of those our own peculiar unparalleled Calamities; and upon Reflection on that Allegiance we owe, and ought by all divine and human Laws, and which we are and have been always ready to swear and perform to your Majesty, our only Sovereign Lord on Earth; and on the Scandal (notwithstanding) which some Persons (who are unwilling to understand aright our Religion) cast upon it, as if it were not consistent with all dutiful Obedience, and Faith to the supreme temporal Magistrate; and upon Consideration likewise of a further Tye of Conscience on us for endeavouring as much as in us lies, to clear your Majesty's Royal Breast from Fears and Jealousies whatsoever; if any peradventure your Majesty entertain of us thro' the Suggestion such as heat our Communion or Nation; and to wipe off that Scandal, and allay the Odium under which our Church hath lain this last Century of Years, among other Christian People in these Nations, of a different Way from ours in the Worship of God: We humbly crave your Majesty's Pardon to vindicate both ourselves and our Holy Belief, in that Particular of our Allegiance, by the ensuing Protestation; which (by Imitation of the late good Example given by our Clergy, *(b)* and pursuant to the general Doctrine and Practice of the Catholick Church) we make in the Sight of Heaven, and in the Presence of your Majesty, sincerely and truly, without Equivocation or mental Reservation.

“ **W**E do acknowledge and confess your Majesty
 “ to be our true and lawful King, supreme

(b) The Catho. Clergy had first given the good Example

Lord and rightful Sovereign of this Realm of *Ireland*, and of all other your Majesty's Dominions; and therefore we acknowledge and confess ourselves to be obliged under Pain of Sin, to obey your Majesty in all civil and temporal Affairs, as much as any other of your Majesty's Subjects; and as the Laws and Rules of Government in this Kingdom do require at our Hands. And that notwithstanding any Power or Pretension of the Pope or See of *Rome*, or any Sentence or Declaration of what Kind or Quality soever, given or to be given by the Pope, his Predecessors or Successors, or by any Authority Spiritual or Temporal, proceeding or derived from him, or his See, against your Majesty, or Royal Authority: We will still acknowledge, and perform to the utmost of our Abilities, our faithful Loyalty, and true Allegiance to your Majesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign Power, be it either Papal or Princely, Spiritual or Temporal, in as much as it may be seemable, or shall pretend to free, discharge or absolve us from this Obligation, or shall any way give us Leave or Licence to raise Tumults, bear Arms, or offer any Violence to your Majesty's Person, Royal Authority, or to the State or Government: Being all of us ready, not only to discover and make known to your Majesty, and to your Ministers, all the Treasons made against your Majesty, or them, which shall come to our Hearing; but also to lose our Lives in the Defence of your Majesty's Person and Royal Authority, and to resist, with our best Endeavours, all Conspiracies and Attempts against your Majesty, be they framed or sent under what Pretence, or patronized by what foreign Power or Authority soever: And further, we profess that all absolute Princes and supreme Governors, of what Religion soever they be, are God's Lieutenants on Earth; and that Obedience is due to them according to the Laws of each Com-

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monwealth,

“ mon-wealth, respectively, in all Civil and Temporal
 “ Affairs. And therefore, we do here protest against all
 “ Doctrine and Authority to the Contrary. And we
 “ do hold it impious, and against the Word of God
 “ to maintain that any private Subject may kill or
 “ murder the anointed of God, his Prince, tho’ of
 “ different Belief and Religion from his. And we ab-
 “ hor and detest the Practice thereof as damnable
 “ and wicked.”

“ These being the Tenets of our Religion in Point
 “ of Loyalty and Submission to your Majesty’s Au-
 “ thority, and our Observance and Veneration of, o
 “ Communion with, the See of Rome, in Matters
 “ purely Spiritual, no Way entrenching on that per-
 “ fect Obedience which by our Birth, by the Laws o
 “ God and Man, we are bound to pay to your Ma-
 “ jesty our natural and lawful Sovereign.”

*Prostrate at your Majesty’s Feet we most humbly beg
 that all your Majesty’s Roman Catholick Subjects in
 Ireland, who shall by Subscription or Consent, concur to
 this publick Protestation of Loyalty, be protected from Per-
 secution for the Profession or Exercise of their Religion
 and all former Laws upon that Account, against them
 repealed.*

Luke Earl of Fingal.

Morroggh Earl of Inchiquin

Donogh Earl of Clancarty.

Oliver Earl of Tyrconnel.

Theobald E. of Carlingford

Edmond Visc. Mont-garret

Thomas Visc. Dillon.

Arthur Visc. Iveagh.

William Visc. Clane.

Charles Visc. Muscry.

William Visc. Taaffe.

Oliver Baron of Lowth,

William Baron of Castle

Connel.

Col. Charles Dillon.

Mathew Plunket Esq;

L. Col. Ignatius Nugent

Col. Bryan Mac Mahon.

Col. Miles Reilly.

Col. Gilbert Talbot

Edward Plunket Esq;

Nicholas Plunket Knight.

Mathew

Mathew Plunket of Dunsay
Christopher Plunket of Dunsany.

James Dillon Knight.
Col. Christopher Brian.
Robert Talbot Bart.
Ullick Burk Bart.

Edward Fitz Harris Bart.
Valentine Browne Bart.
Luke Bath Bart.

Henry Slingsby Knight.
John Bellew Knight.
Col. William Burk.

Col. John Fitzpatrick.
Col. Milo Power.

L. Col. Pierce Lacy.

L. Col. Ullick Burk.

L. Col. Thomas Scurlog.

Esquires and Gentlemen

Jeffery Brown of Galway.

John Walch of Ballynoher.

Patrick Bryan.

James Fitzgerald of Laccach.

John Talbot of Malahyde.

Thomas Luttrell of Luttrell Town.

John Holliwood of Artaine

Henry O Neill Son to Sir Pbelim O Neill.

Dudley Bagnal of Dunlickney.

Henry Draket of Mornar-ton.

Edward Butler of Monibore.

Nicholas Darcy of Platin.

Patrick Sarsfield of Lucan.

John Macnamara of Great-lach.

James Talbot of Bela Connel

John Balif of Boorstown.

James Talbot of Templeoge.

Patrick Archer

Luke Dowdall of Athlomy.

Philip Hore of Kilsalcbna.

James Barnwall of Bremore

James Allen of St. Wolfstans

Thomas Cantwell of Balla-makedy

John Cantwell of Cantwell's Court.

Edmund Dillon of Streams-Town.

John Flemming of Staball-mock.

Peter Sherlock of Grace-dieu

Chr. Archbold of Timeling.

Patrick Moore of Dowens-Town.

Nicholas Haly of Towrine.

Pierce Butler of Calan.

Pierce Butler of Kellvea-legber.

John Segrave of Cabrah.

Rich. Wadding of Kilbarry.

Thomas Brown of Clann-donnell's Row.

Oliwer Casbel of Duncalk.

Pat. Clinton of Irish-town.

Capt. Christopher Turner.

John Bagot.

William Grace.

John Arthur of Hogestown

Marc. Laffan of Greastown

80 The Irish Roman Catholics, &c.

Christo. Aylmer of Belrath.

James Plunket of Gibstown.

Thomas St. John of Mortles-
town-

William Barryoge of Kin-
cerran.

Richard Strange of Rock-
well's Castle.

Ja. Butler of Ballinekill.

Anthony Colclough.

Thomas Sarsfield of Sars-
fields Town.

Pierce Nangle of Mona-

nimny.

John Wolverston of Stelor-
gan.

Michael Bret.

Pat. Boyton of Ballyturny-
macoris.

James White of Chambelly.

Major Laurence Dempsy.

Capt. Richard Dempsy.

Edward Nugent of Culvin.

Patrick Porter of Kinton.

Major Marcus Furlong.



Bishop



BISHOP PLUNKET'S S P E E C H

On the first of JULY, 1681.

Mr. Sheriff demanded his Prisoner, who was carried by him on a Sledge to be Hanged, Drawn and Quartered. In his Passage to the Place of Execution, he made many Ejaculatory Prayers, full of the Love of God, and Charity to his Neighbours: When he arrived at Tyburn, and was tyed up, before the Cart was drawn from under him, he made with wonderful Chearfulness the following Discourse.

I Have some few Days past abided my Tryal at the King's Bench, and now very soon I must hold up my Hand at the King of King's Bench, and appear before a Judge who cannot be deceived by false Witnesses or corrupted Allegations, for he knoweth the Secrets of Hearts. 'Neither can he deceive any, or give any unjust Sentence, or be misled by Respect of Persons, he being all Goodness and a most just Judge, will infallibly Decree an eternal Reward for all good Works, and Condign Punishment for the smallest Transgressions against his Commandments.' Which being a most certain and undoubted Truth; it would be a wicked Act, and contrary to my perpetual Welfare, that I should now by declaring any Thing contrary to Truth, commit a detestable Sin, for which within a very short Time I must receive Sentence of Everlasting Damnation; after which there is no Re-

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prief

prief or Hope of Pardon: I will therefore Confess the Truth without any Equivocation; and make Use of the Words according to their accustomed Signification: Assuring you moreover, that I am of that certain Perswasion, that no Power, not only upon Earth, but also in Heaven, can dispense with me; or give me Leave to make a false Protestation, and I protest upon the Words of a dying Man, and as I hope for Salvation at the Hands of the Supreme Judge, that I will declare the Truth, with all Candor and Sincerity, and that my Affairs may be the better known to all the World.

,Tis to be observed that I have been accused in *Ireland* of Treason and Premunire; and that there I was Arraigned, and brought to my Tryal. But the Prosecutors (Men of flagitious and infamous Lives) perceiving that I had Records and Witnesses, they voluntarily absented themselves; and came to this City, to procure that I should be brought hither to my Tryal, where the Crimes objected were not committed, where the Jury did not know me, or the Qualities of my Accusers, and were not informed of several other Circumstances conducing to a fair Tryal. Here after six Months close Imprisonment, (or thereabouts) I was brought to the Bar the 3d of May, and Arraigned for a Crime, for which I was before Arraigned in *Ireland*, a strange Resolution; a rear Fact; of which you will hardly find a Precedent these five hundred Years past. But whereas my Witnesses and Records were in *Ireland*, the Lord Chief Justice gave me five Weeks Time to get them brought hither: But by Reason of the uncertainty of the Winds, the Seas, and of the Difficulty of getting Copies of Records, and bringing many Witnesses from several Counties in *Ireland*, and for many other Impediments, (of which Affidavit was made) I could not at the end of five Weeks get the Records and Witnesses brought hither. I therefore begg'd

begg'd for twelve Days more, that I might be in readiness for my Tryal; which the Lord Chief Justice denied: And so I was brought to my Tryal, and exposed (as it were with my Hands tied) to those merciless Perjurors, who did aim at my Life, by accusing me of these following Crimes.

“ First, That I Have sent Letters by one *Neal O Neal*, who was my Page, to Monsieur *Baldeschi*, the Pope's Secretary; to the Bishop of *Aix*, and to *Principe Colonna*; that they might solicit Foreign Powers to invade *Ireland*; and also to have sent Letters to Cardinal *Bullion* to the same Effect.

“ Secondly, To have employed Captain *Con O Neal* to the *French* King for Succour.

“ Thirdly, to have levied and exacted Monies from the Clergy of *Ireland*, to bring in the *French* and to Maintain seventy Thousand Men.

“ Fourthly, To have had in a Readiness seventy Thousand Men, and Lists made of them; and to have given Directions to one Fryar *Duffy* to make a List of two hundred and fifty Men in the Parish of *Foghart*, in the County of *Lowth*.

“ Fifthly, To have surrounded all the Forts and Harbours of *Ireland*; and to have fixed upon *Carlingford*, as a fit Harbour for the *French* Landing.

“ Sixthly, To have had several Councils and Meetings, where there was Money allotted for introducing the *French*.

“ Finally, That there was a Meeting in the County of *Monaghan* some ten or twelve Years past, where there were three hundred Gentlemen of three
“ several

“ several Counties, to wit. *Monaghan, Cavan* and
 “ *Armagh*; whom I did exhort to take Arms to reco-
 “ ver their Estates.”

To the first I answer, that *Neal O Neal* was never my servant or Page, and that I never sent Letter or Letters by him to Monsieur *Baldefchi*, or the Bishop of *Aix*, or to *Princippe Colonna*. And I say, that the *English* Translation of that pretended Letter, produced by Fryar *Mac Moyar* is a mere Invention of his, and never penned by me, nor it's Original, either in *English, Latin, Italian*, or any other Language. I affirm more-over that I never writ Letter or Letters to Cardinal *Bullion*, or to any of the French King's Ministers; neither did any who was in that Court either speak to me, or write to me, directly, or indirectly, of any Plot or Conspiracy against my King or Country. Farther I vow, that I never sent Agent or Agents to *Rome*; or to any other Court about any Civil or Temporal Affairs, and 'tis well known (for it is a Precept publicly printed) that Clergymen (living in Countries where the Government is not of Roman Catholics) are commanded by *Rome*, not to write to *Rome* concerning any Civil or Temporal Affairs: And I do aver that I never received Letter or Letters from the Pope, or from any other of his Ministers, making the least Mention of any such Matters: So that Fryars *Mac-moyar* and *Duffy* swore most falsely, as to such Letter or Letters, Agent or Agents.

To the Second, I say, that I never employed Captain *Con O Neil*, to the French King, or to any of his Ministers. And that I never wrote to him or received Letters from him; and that I never saw him but once, nor never spoke to him to the best of my Remembrance ten Words; and for his being in *Charlemount*, or *Dungannon*, I never saw him in those Towns, or knew of his

his being in those Places; so that as to *Con O Neal*, Fryar *Macmoyar*'s Depositions are false.

To the Third, I say that I never levied any Money for a Plot or Conspiracy, for bringing in *Spaniards* or *French*; neither did I ever receive any upon that Account, from Priests or Fryars, as *Mac'Clane*, and Fryar *Duffy* most untruly asserted. I assure you I never received from any Clergyman in *Ireland*, but what was due to me by antient Customs for my Maintenance, and what my Predecessors these hundred Years past were wont to receive; nay, I received less than many of them, and if all the Catholick Clergy of *Ireland* get in one Year, were put in one Purse, it would signify little or nothing to introduce the *French*, or to raise an Army of seventy thousand Men, which I had inlisted, as Fryar *Macmoyar* most falsely deposed. Neither is it less untrue what Fryar *Duffy* attested, viz. That I directed him to make a List of two hundred and fifty Men in the Parish of *Fogbart* in the County of *Lowth*.

To the Fifth, I answer, that I never surrounded all the Forts and Harbours of *Ireland*; and that I was never at *Cork*, *Kinsale*, *Bantry*, *Youghal*, *Dungarvan*, *Limerick*, *Duncannon*, or *Wexford*, as for *Carlingsford* I was never in it but once, and stayed not in it above half an Hour; neither did I consider the Fort or Haven; neither had I it in my Thoughts or Imaginations to fix upon it, or upon any other Fort or Haven, for Landing of *French* or *Spaniards*; and whilst I was at *Carlingsford*, (by meer chance passing that Way) Fryar *Duffy* was not in my Company, as he most falsely swore.

To the Sixth, I say, that I never was at any Meeting or Council, where there was mention made of allotting or collecting Money for a Plot or Conspiracy; and tis well known, that the Catholick Clergy of *Ireland*

land, who have neither Lands nor Revenues, and hardly are able to keep decent Cloaths on their Backs, and Life and Soul together, can raise no considerable Sum, nay cannot spare as much as would maintain half a Regiment.

To the Seventh, I answer, that I was never at any Meeting of three hundred Gentlemen in the County of *Monaghan*, *Armagh*, and *Cavan*, nor of one County, nor of one Barony, and that I never exhorted Gentleman or Gentlemen, either there, or any other Part of *Ireland*, to take up Arms for the recovering their Estates, and 'tis well known, that there are not even in the Province of *Ulster*, three hundred *Irish* Roman Catholicks who had Estates. or lost Estates by the late Rebellion, and 'tis well known, all my Thoughts and Endeavours were for the quiet of my Country, and especially of that Province.

Now to be brief, as I hope for Salvation, I never sent Letter or Letters, Agent or Agents, to Pope, King, Prince, or Prelate, concerning any Plot or Conspiracy against any King or Country; I never raised Sum or Sums of Money, great or small, to maintain Soldier or Soldiers, all the Days of my Life; I never knew (nor neither did it come into my Imagination) that the *French* were to Land at *Carlingsford*, and I believe there is none who saw *Ireland* ever in a Map, but will think it a meer Romance; I never knew of any Plotters or Conspirators in *Ireland* but such as were Notorious and proclaimed (commonly call'd Tories) whom I did endeavour to suppress, and as I hope for Salvation, I always have been, and am entirely Innocent of the Treason laid to my Charge, and of any other whatsoever.

And tho' I be not guilty of the Crimes of which I am accused, yet I believe none ever came to this Place

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who is in such a Condition as I am, for if I should ever acknowledge (which in Conscience I cannot do, because I should bely myself) the chief Crimes laid to my Charge, no wise Men that knows *Ireland* would believe me. If I should Confess that I was able to raise seventy thousand Men in the Districts of which I had Care, *to wit*, in *Ulster*, nay even in all *Ireland*, and to have levied and exacted Money from the *Roman* Clergy for their Maintenance, and to have prepared *Carlingford* for the *French's* Landing, all would Laugh at me, it being well known that all the *Reverend* of *Ireland*, both Spiritual and Temporal, possessed by his Majesty's Subjects, are scarce able to raise and maintain an Army of seventy thousand Men. And if I deny all those Crimes, (as I did, and do) yet it may be that some, who are not acquainted with the Affairs of *Ireland*, will not believe that my denial is grounded upon Truth, tho' I assert it with my last Breath. I dare venture to affirm, that if these Points of seventy thousand Men, &c. had been sworn before any Protestant Jury in *Ireland*, and had been acknowledged by me at the Bar, they would not believe me, no more than if it had been deposed, and confessed by me, that I had flown in the Air from *Dublin* to *Holly-head*.

You see therefore what a Condition I am in, and you have heard what Protestations I have made of Innocency, and I hope you will believe the Words of a dying Man. And that you may be the more induced to give me Credit, I assure you that a great Peer sent me Notice, "That he would save my Life, if I would accuse others," but I answered, "That I never knew any Conspirators in *Ireland*, but such (as I said before) as were publicly known Outlaws; and that to save my Life, I would not falsely accuse any, nor prejudice my own Soul. *St. Matt. 16. 26. What availeth it a Man, if he gain the whole World*

World and lose his own Soul? To take away any Man's
 " Life or goods wrongfully, ill becometh any Chris-
 " tian, especially a Man of my Calling, being a
 " Clergyman of the Catholick Church, and also an
 " unworthy Prelate, which I openly Confess."

Neither will I deny to have exercised in *Ireland*, the Functions of a Catholick Prelate, as long as there was any Connivance or Tolleration; and by teaching and Preaching, and Statutes, to have endeavoured to bring the Clergy (of which I had Care) to a due Comportment; according to their Calling; and though thereby I did but my Duty, yet some who would not amend, had a Prejudice for me, and especially my Accusers; to whom I did endeavour to do good; I mean the Clergymen (as for the four Laymen, who appeared against me, viz. *Florence Macmoyar*, the two *Neals*, and *Hanson*, I was never acquainted with them) but you see how I am requited, and how by false Oaths they brought me to this untimely Death. Which wicked Act being a Defect of Persons, ought not to reflect upon the Order of *St. Francis*, or upon the Roman Catholick Clergy; it being well known, that there was *Judas* among the twelve Apostles, and a wicked Man called *Nicholas* amongst the seven Deacons, and even as one of the said Deacons, to wit. *Holy Stephen* did pray for those who stoned him to Death; so do I for those who with Perjuries spill my innocent Blood; saying as *St. Stephen* did, *O Lord lay not this Sin to them.* I do heartily forgive them, and also the Judges, who (by denying me sufficient Time to bring my Records and Witnesses from *Ireland*) did expose my Life to evident Danger.

I do also forgive all those who had any Hand in bringing me from *Ireland* to be tryed here; where it was morally impossible for me to have a fair Tryal. I do finally forgive all who did concur directly or indirectly

directly, to take away my Life, and I ask Forgiveness of all those whom I ever offended, by Thought, Word, or deed. I beseech the All-powerful, that his Divine Majesty grant our King, Queen, and the Duke of York, and all the Royal Family, Health, long Life, and all Prosperity in this World, and in the next Everlasting Felicity.

And now that I have shewed sufficiently (as I think) how innocent I am of any Plot or Conspiracy; I would I were able with the like Truth to clear myself of high Crimes committed against the Divine Majesty's Commandments, (often transgressed by me) for which I am sorry with all my Heart; and if I should or could live a thousand Years I have a firm Resolution, and a strong Purpose, by your Grace (O my God) never to offend you, and I beseech your Divine Majesty, by the Merits of Christ and the Intercession of his blessed Mother, and all the Holy Angels and Saints to forgive me my Sins, and to grant my Soul eternal Rest. *Be merciful unto me O Lord, &c. Spare my Soul, &c. Into thy Hands I recommend my Spirit, &c.*

P O S T C R I P T.

TO the final Satisfaction of all Persons that have the Charity to believe the Words of a dying Man; I again declare before God, as I hope for Salvation, that what is contained in this Paper, is the plain and naked Truth, without any Equivocation, mental Reservation, or secret Evasion whatsoever: Taking the Words in the usual Sense and Meaning Protestants do, when they Discourse with all Candor and Sincerity. To all which I have here subscribed my Name.

O L I V E R P L U N K E T.

90 *The* SPEECH of B. PLUNKET.

A Copy of this SPEECH he delivered to the Sheriff, and to some of his Friends, which was accordingly Printed.

HIS Speech ended, and his Cap drawn over his Eyes, he again recommended his happy Soul with Raptures of Devotion into the Hands of *Jesus*, his Saviour, for whose Sake he died, 'till the Cart was drawn from under him. Thus then he hung betwixt Heaven and Earth, an open Sacrifice to God for Innocence and Religion; and as soon as he expired, the Executioner ripped up his Belly and Breast, and pulled out his Heart and Bowels, threw them into the Fire, ready kindled near the Gallows for that Purpose; the rest of his Body being begged of the King, was carried by his Friends to a House near St. *Giles's* Church, the Trunk whereof was placed in a Coffin, his Head and Arms to the Elbow, being reserved out of the Coffin, and disposed of elsewhere, then the Body was interred in the Church-Yard, and a Copper-Plate plac'd on his Breast, whereon was engraved these following Words, set here down for the Satisfaction of the Curious :

*I*N this Tomb resteth the Body of the Right Reverend Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland; who in hatred of Religion was accused of High Treason by false Witnesses, and for the same condemned and executed at Tyburn, his Heart and Bowels being taken out; and cast into the Fire: He suffered Martyrdom with Constancy, the 1st. of July, 1681, in the Reign of King Charles the second.

Four Years after his interment, the Trunk of his Body was taken up and found entire, and sent beyond Sea, where it lies intombed in a Monument worthy of his Character, and eminent Sanctity; his Arms and Head are disposed of elsewhere, and are likewise entire, as several Eye-witnesses might testify.



A

Short DESCRIPTION OF LIMERICK.

LIMERICK, Lat. *Limericum*, a strong City in the Province of *Munster*, in *Ireland*, situate near the Confines of *Connaught*, upon the River *Shannon*, forty five Miles West of *Kilkenny*, thirty five South from *Galway*, and from the main Ocean about sixty; but so accommodated by the River, that Ships of Burden come up to the Walls. 'Tis almost quite surrounded with Water, and is, without Dispute, the strongest Town in *Ireland*. 'Tis the Capital of a County, of the same Name, and a Bishop's See, under the Archbishop of *Cashel*. The *Irish* call it *Laumenagh*. It was taken from them by *Raimond le Grosse*, an *Englishman*; after which one *Donowald*, an *Irish* Royolet of *Thomond*, burnt it. King *John* built the Castle; the *English* in After-times built an additional Town, environed it with Walls, and secured it with Draw-bridges, and whatever else might contribute to it's Strength: So that when *Ireton* came before it, in 1651, for the Parliamentarians, *Hugh O Neal*, a good Commander, constituted Governor of it by the Lord Lieutenant, made a vigorous Defence; but after three Months Siege, the Garrison weakened by the Plague, and strained for Provisions, delivered it upon Articles. After the Defeat at the *Boyne*, King *James's* Forces rallied here, and made so good a Defence under *Bois-leau* the *French* Governor, and so much Rain fell that

King

92 *A short Description of LIMERICK.*

King *William* who began its Siege in Person, *August* 10, 1690, decamped the 30th following; but the next Year, it being besieged by General *Ginckle*, after the Battle of *Aughrim*, and Surrender of *Galway*, the Garrison capitulated, and had advantageous Conditions allowed it, on surrender of the Place, which put an End to the then Troubles in *Ireland*. The County of *Limerick* is bounded on the *North* by the River *Shannon* and *Mysker*, which parts it from *Clare* and *Ormond*, on the *East* it has the County of *Tipperary*, on the *South* that of *Cork*, on the *West* the County of *Kerry*. A fertile Country, saith *Cambden*, and well inhabited. The *Western* Side is mountaneous, the rest Plain.

The Civil ARTICLES of Limerick, agreed upon the 3d of October, 1691.

GULIELMUS & MARIA Dei Gratia Anglia, Scotiae, Franciae & Hiberniae, Rex & Regina, Fidei Defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos Praesentes, literae nostrae pervenerint salutem; Inspeximus Irrotulamentum quarund. literarum patentium de confirmatione geren Dat. apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto dei Februarij, ultimo preteriti in Cancellaria nostr. Irrotulat. ac ibidem de Recordo remanen in hæc verba. *William and Mary*, by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whom those Presents shall come, Greeting, Whereas certain Articles bearing Date the third Day of *October* last past, Made and Agreed on between our Justices of our Kingdom of *IRELAND*, and our General of our Forces there, on the one Part: And several Officers there commanding within the City of *Limerick*, in our said Kingdom, on the other Part: Whereby our said Justices and General did Undertake that WE should ratify those Articles within the Space of eight Months, or sooner; and use their utmost Endeavours that the same should be Ratified and Confirmed in Parliament. The Tenor of which said Articles is as follows, viz.

T H E

THE
CIVIL ARTICLES
of *L I M E R I C K*.

Agreed upon the Third Day of OCTOBER, One
Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety One.

Exactly printed from the Letters Patent. Wherein
they are Ratified and Exemplified by their Majesties
under the Great Seal of ENGLAND.

BETWEEN the Right Honourable Sir *Charles*
Porter, Knight, and *Thomas Conningsby* Esq ;
Lords Justices of *Ireland* ; and his Excellency the Ba-
ron *De Ginckle*, Lieutenant General and Commander
in Chief of the *English Army* ; On the one Part, And

The Right Honourable *Patrick* Earl of *Lucan*,
Piercy Viscount *Gallmoy*, Colonel *Nicholas Purcell*, Co-
lonel *Nicholas Cusack*, Sir *Toby Butler*, Colonel *Gar-
ret Dillon*, and Colonel *John Brown* ; On the other
Part.

In the Behalf of the Irish Inhabitants in the City
and County of *Limerick* ; the Counties of *Clare*, *Ker-
ry*, *Cork*, *Sligo* and *Mayo*.

In Consideration of the Surrender of the City of
Limerick, and other Agreements made between the
said Lieutenant General *Ginckle*, the Governor of the
City of *Limerick*, and the Generals of the *Irish Ar-
my*, bearing Date with these Presents, for the surren-
der of the said City, and submission of the said Ar-
my: It is Agreed, That,

A R T.

A R T. - I.

THE Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom shall enjoy such Privileges in the Exercise of their Religion, as are consistent with the Laws of *Ireland*; or as they did enjoy in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second. And their Majesties, as soon as their Affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this Kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholicks such further Security in that Particular, as may preserve them from any Disturbance upon the Account of their said Religion.

A R T. II.

All the Inhabitants or Residents of *Limerick*, or any other Garrison now in the Possession of the *Irish*, and all Officers and Soldiers, now in Arms, under any Commission of King *James*, or those authorized by him, to grant the same in the several Counties of *Limerick*, *Clare*, *Kerry*, *Cork* and *Mayo*, or any of them, and all the Commissioned Officers in their Majesties Quarters, that belong to the *Irish* Regiments, now in Being, that are treated with, and who are not Prisoners of War, or have taken Protection, and who shall return and submit to their Majesties Obedience, and their and every of their Heirs, shall hold, possess and enjoy, all and every of their Estates of Freehold and Inheritance; and all the Rights, Titles and Interests, Privileges and Immunities, which they and every, or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, or at any Time since, by the Laws and Statutes that were in Force in the said Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and shall be put in possession, by order of the Government, of such of them as are in the King's Hands, or the Hands of his Tenants, without being put to any Suit or Trouble therein; and all

such Estates shall be free and discharged from all Ar-
 rears of Crown rents, Quit rents, and other publick
 Charges, incurred and become due since *Michaelmas*,
 1688 to the Day of the Date hereof. And all Per-
 sons comprehended in this Article, shall have, hold,
 and enjoy all their Goods and Chattles, Real and Per-
 sonal, to them, or any of them belonging, and re-
 maining either in their own Hands, or the Hands of
 any Persons whatsoever, in Trust for, or for the Use
 of them, or any of them: And all and every the said
 Persons, of what Profession, Trade and Calling, soe-
 ver they be, shall and may use, exercise and practise
 their severall and respective Professions, Trades and
 Callings as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy
 the same in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second;
 provided, that nothing in this Article contained, be
 construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting Person
 now out of the Kingdom, except what are hereafter
 comprized: Provided also, That no Person whatsoe-
 ver shall have or enjoy the Benefit of this Article,
 that shall neglect or refuse to take the Oaths of Alle-
 giance, made by Act of Parliament in *England*, in the
 first Year of the Reign of their present Majesties,
 when thereunto required.

A R T. III.

All Merchants, or reputed Merchants of the City
 of *Limerick*, or of any other Garrison, now possessed
 by the *Irish*, or of any Town or Place in the Coun-
 ties of *Clare* or *Kerry*, who are absent beyond the
 seas, that have not bore Arms since their Majesties
 Declaration in *February* 1688, shall have the Benefit
 of the second Article, in the same Manner, as if they
 were present; provided such Merchants, and reputed
 Merchants, do repair into this Kingdom within the
 space of eight Months from the Date hereof.

A R T.

A R T. IV.

The following Officers, *viz.* Colonel *Simon Luttrell*, Captain *Rowland White*, *Maurice Eustace*, of *Yemanstown*, *Chievers of Maystown*, commonly called *Mount-Leinster*, now belonging to the Regiments in the aforefaid Garrisons and Quarters of the Irish Army who were beyond the Seas and sent thither upon Affairs of their respective Regiments: Or the Army in general, shall have the Benefit and Advantage of the second Article; provided they return hither within the space of eight Months from the Date of these Presents, and submit to their Majesties Government, and take the above-mentioned Oath.

A R T. V.

That all and singular, the said Persons comprized in the second and third Articles, shall have a general Pardons of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treasons, Misprision of Treason, Premunires, Felonies, Trespases, and other Crimes, and Misdemeanors whatsoever, by them or any of them committed since the Reign of King *James 2d*, and if any of them are attainted by Parliament, the Lords Justices and General, will use their best Endeavour to get the same repeal'd by Parliament and the Outlawries to be reversed *Gratis*, all but Writing Clerk's Fees.

A R T. VI.

And Whereas these present Wars have drawn on great Violence, on both Parts, and that if leave were given to the bringing all Sorts of private Actions, the Animosities would probably continue, that have been too long on Foot, and the publick Disturbance last: For the quieting and settling therefore of the Kingdom

Kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniencies which would be the necessary Consequence of the contrary, no Person or Persons whatsoever, comprized in the foregoing Articles shall be sued, molested, or impleaded, at the Suit of any Party or Parties whatsoever, for any Trespasses by them committed, or for any Arms, Horses, Money, Goods, Chattles, Merchandizes, or Provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the Time of the War. And no Person, or Persons whatsoever in the second and third Articles comprized, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the Rents, or mean Rates of any Lands, Tenements, or Houses by him or them received, or enjoyed in this Kingdom, since the beginning of the present War, to the Day of the Date hereof, nor for any Waste or Trespass, by him or them committed in any such Lands, Tenements or Houses: And it is also agreed, that this Article shall be mutual, and reciprocal on both Sides.

A R T. VII.

Every Nobleman and Gentleman comprized in the said second and third Article, shall have Liberty to ride with a Sword and Case of Pistols, if they think fit, and keep a Gun in their Houses, for the Defence of the same, or for Fowling.

A R T. VIII.

The Inhabitants and Residents in the City of *Limerick* and other Garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their Goods, Chattles and Provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and search'd, or paying any manner of Duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the Houses they now have, for the space of six Weeks next ensuing the Date hereof.

A R T. IX.

The Oath to be administred to such Roman Catholics as submit to their Majesties Government, shall be the Oath aforesaid and no other.

A R T. X.

No Person or Persons, who shall at any Time hereafter break these Articles or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other Person or Persons, to forfeit or lose the Benefit of the same.

A R T. XI.

The Lords Justices and General do promise to use their utmost Endeavours, that all the Persons comprehended in the above mentioned Articles, shall be protected and defended from all Arrests and Executions for Debt or Damage, for the space of eight Months, next ensuing the Date hereof.

A R T. XII.

Lastly, the Lords Justices and General do undertake, that their Majesties will ratify these Articles, within the space of eight Months or sooner, and use their utmost Endeavours, that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in Parliament.

A R T. XIII.

And whereas Colonel *John Brown* stood indebted to several Protestants, by Judgment of Record; which appearing to the late Government, the Lord *Tyrconnel* and Lord *Lucan*, took away the Effects the said *John Brown* had to answer the said Debts, and
promised

promised to clear the said *John Brown* of the said Debts; which Effects were taken for the publick Use of the *Irish*, and their Army: For freeing the said Lord *Lucan* of his said Engagement, past on their publick Account, for payment of the said Protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said *John Brown*, and for Satisfaction of his Creditors, at the Instance of the Lord *Lucan*, and the rest of the Persons aforesaid, it is agreed, That the said Lords Justices, and the said Baron *de Ginckle*, shall interceed with the King and Parliament, to have their Estates secured to Roman Catholicks, by Articles and Capitulation in this Kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the Payment of so much of the said Debts, as the said Lord *Lucan* upon stating Accompts with the said *John Brown*, shall certify under his Hand, that the Effects taken from said *Brown* amount to; which Accompt is to be stated, and the Ballance certified by the said Lord *Lucan* in One and Twenty Days after the Date hereof.

For the true Performance hereof, We have hereunto set our Hands.

P R E S E N T.

Scravemore.
H. Maccay.
T. Talmaish.

Charles Porter.
Tho. Conningsby.
Bar. de Ginckle.

AND Whereas the said City of *Limerick* hath been since in pursuance of the said Articles, surrendered unto Us. *Now Know ye*, that We having considered of the said Articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that We do for Us, our Heirs and Successors, as far as in Us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every Clause, Matter and Thing, therein contained. And as to such Parts thereof, for which an Act of Parliament shall be found to be necessary, We shall recommend the same to be made Good by Parliament, and shall give Our Royal Assent to any Bill or Bills, that shall be passed by our two Houses of Parliament to that Purpose.

And whereas it appears unto Us, that it was agreed between the Parties to the said Articles, that after the Words, *Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo*, or any of them, in the Second of the said Articles, the Words following, *viz. And all such as are under their Protection in the said Counties*, should be inserted, and be part of the said Articles. Which Words having been casually omitted by the Writer, the Omission was not discovered 'till after the said Articles were signed, but was taken Notice of before the second Town was surrendered. And that our said Justices, and Generals, or one of them, did promise that the said Clause should be made good, it being within the Intention of the Capitulation, and inserted in the sowl Draught thereof.

Our further Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted Words, *viz. And all such as are under their Protection in the said Counties*, hereby for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every Person or Persons, therein concerned, shall and may have, receive and enjoy, the Benefit thereof, in such and the same

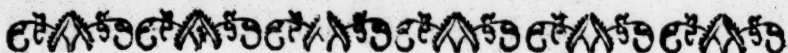
same Manner, as if the said Words had been inserted in their proper Place, in the said second Article; any Omission, Defect or Mistake in the second Article, in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure is, that these our Letters Patent shall be enrolled in our Court of *Chancery*, in our said Kingdom of *Ireland*, within the Space of one Year next ensuing. *In Witness, &c.*

Witness Ourselves at *Westminster*, the Twenty-fourth Day of *February*, Anno Regni Regis & Reginae Gulielmi & Mariae Quarto, per Breve de Privato, Sigillo, Nos autem Tenorem Premissor, Predict. ad Requisionem Attornat. General. Domini Regis, & Dominae Reginae pro Regno Hiberniae. Duximus exemplificand. per Presentes. In cujus Rei Testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud West. non. Quinto die Aprilis, Annoque Regni eorum Quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat	{	S. Keck.	{	In Cancel
per nos		Lacon Wm. Childe.		Magistros



Military ARTICLES,

AGREED UPON,

*Between the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant General,
and Commander in Chief of the English Army, on the
one Side:* AND

*The Lieut. Generals De Uffoon, and De Tesse, Com-
manders in Chief of the Irish Army, on the other;
and the General Officers hereunto subscribing.*

A R T. I

THAT all Persons, without any Exceptions, of what Quality or Condition soever, that are willing to leave the Kingdom of *Ireland*, shall have free Liberty to go to any Country beyond the Seas (*England and Scotland* excepted) where they think fit, with their Families, Household Stuff, Plate and Jewels.

A R T. II.

That all General Officers, Colonels, and generally all other Officers of Horse, Dragoons and Foot Guards, Troopers, Dragooners; Soldiers of all Kinds that are in any Garrison, Place or Post, now in the Hands of the *Irish*, or encamped in the Counties of *Cork, Clare and Kerry*, as also those called Rapparees, or Volunteers, that are willing to go beyond Seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves, wherever the Ships are, that are appointed to transport them; and to come in whole Bodies, as they are now compos'd, or in Parties, Companies or otherwise without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

A R T.

A R T. III.

That all Persons above-mentioned, that are willing to leave *Ireland*, and go into *France*, shall have leave to declare it at the Times and Places hereafter mentioned, viz. The Troops in *Limerick* on *Tuesday* next in *Limerick*; the Horse at their Camp on *Wednesday*, and the other Forces that are dispersed in the Counties of *Clare*, *Kerry* and *Cork* on the 8th Instant, and on none other, before Monsieur *Tameron*, the *French* Intendant, and Colonel *Wichers*; and after such Declaration is made, the Troops that will go into *France* must remain under the Command and Discipline of their Officers, that are to conduct them thither; and Deserters of each Side shall be given up and punished accordingly.

A R T. IV.

That all *English* and *Scotch* Officers, that serve now in *Ireland* shall be included in this Capitulation, as well for the Security of their Estates and Goods in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, (if they are willing to remain here) as for passing freely into *France*, or any other Country to serve.

A R T. V.

That all the General *French* Officers, the Intendant, the Engineers, the Commissaries at War, and of the Artillery, the Treasurer, and other *French* Officers, Strangers, and all other whatsoever, that are in *Sligo*, *Ross*, *Clare*, or in the Army, or that do Trade or Commerce, or are otherwise employed in any Kind of Station or Condition, shall have free Leave to pass into *France*, or any other Country; and shall have leave to ship themselves with all their Horses, Equipage, Plate,

Papers and all their Effects whatever ; and that General *Ginckle* will order Pass-ports for them, Convoys, and Carriages by Land and Water, to carry them safe from *Limerick*, to the Ships where they shall be embarked, without paying any Thing for the said Carriages, or those that are employed therein, with their Horses, Carrs, Boats and Shallops.

A R T. VI.

That if any of the aforesaid Equipage, Merchandize, Horses, Money, Plate, or other Moveables, or Houshold Stuff, belonging to the said *Irish* Troops or the other *French* Officers, or other particular Persons whatsoever, be robb'd, destroyed, or taken away by the Troops of the said General, the said General will order it to be restored, or payment to me made, according to the Value that is given in upon Oath by the Person so robb'd or plundered: And the said *Irish* Troops to be transported as aforesaid: And all other Persons belonging to them, are to observe good Order in their March and Quarters ; and shall restore whatever they shall take from the Country, or make Restitution for the same.

A R T. VII.

That to facilitate the transporting the said Troops, the General will furnish Fifty Ships, each Ship's Burden two hundred Tons ; for which the Person to be transported, shall not be obliged to pay ; and twenty more if there shall be Occasion, without their paying for them ; and if any of the said Ships shall be of lesser Burthen, he will furnish more in number to countervail ; and also give two Men of War to embark the principal Officers, and serve for a Convoy to the Vessels of Burthen.

A R T.

A R T. VIII.

That a Commissary shall be immediately sent to *Cork* to visit the Transport Ships, and what Condition they are in for sailing; and that as soon as they are ready, the Troops to be transported shall march with all convenient Speed the nearest Way, in order to embark there. And if there shall be any more Men to be transported, than can be carried off in the said fifty Ships, the rest shall quit the *English* Town of *Limerick*, and march to such Quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their Transportation, where they shall remain 'till the other twenty Ships be ready, which are to be in a Month; and may embark in any *French* Ship that may come in the mean Time.

A R T. IX.

That the said Ships shall be furnished with Forage for Horse, and all necessary Provisions to subsist the Officers, Troops, Dragoons and Soldiers, and all other Persons that are shipped to be transported into *France*; which Provision shall be paid for, as soon as all are disembarked at *Brest* or *Nantz*, upon the Coast of *Brittany*, or any other Port in *France* they can make.

A R T. X.

And to secure the return of the said Ships, (the Danger of the Seas excepted) and Payment for the said Provisions, Hostages shall be given.

A R T. XI.

That the Garrisons of *Clare-Castle*, *Ross*, and all other Foot that are in Garrisons, in the Counties of *Clare*, *Cork* and *Kerry*, shall have the Advantage of this Capitulation, and such part of those Garrisons as

design to go beyond Seas, shall march out with their Arms, Baggage, Drums beating, Ball in Mouth, Match lighted at both ends, and Colours flying, with all the Provisions, and half the Ammunition that is in the said Garrisons, and join the Horse that march to be transported; or if then there's not Shipping enough for the Body of Foot that is to be next transported the Horse, General *Ginckle* will order that they be furnished with Carriages for that Purpose; and what Provision they shall want in their march, they paying for the said Provisions; or else that they may take it out of their own Magazines.

A R T. XII.

That all the Troops of Horse and Dragoons, that are in the Counties of *Cork*, *Kerry* and *Clare*, shall also have the Benefit of this Capitulation; and that such as will pass into *France* shall have Quarters given them in the Counties of *Clare* and *Kerry*, apart from the Troops that are commanded by General *Ginckle*, until they can be shipped; and within their Quarters they shall pay for every Thing, except Forage, and Pasture for their Horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

A R T. XIII.

Those of the Garrison of *Sligo*, that are joined to the *Irish* Army, shall have the Benefit of this Capitulation; and Orders shall be sent to them that are to convoy them up, to bring them hither to *Limerick* the shortest Way.

A R T. XIV.

The *Irish* may have Liberty to transport Nine Hundred Horse, including Horses for the Officers, which shall be transported gratis; and as for the Troopers that

that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they think fit ; giving up their Horse and Arms to such Persons as the General shall appoint.

A R T. XV.

It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take Care for the Subsistence of the Horse, that are willing to go into *France*, to buy Hay and Corn at the King's Rates ; wherever they can find it, in the Quarters that are assigned for them, without any Let or Molestation ; and to carry all necessary Provisions out of the City of *Limerick* : And for this Purpose the General will furnish convenient Carriages for them, to the Places where they shall be embarked.

A R T. XVI.

It shall be lawful to make use of the Hay, preserved in the Stores of the County of *Kerry*, for the Horses that shall be embarked ; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy Hay and Oats wherever it shall be found, at the King's Rates.

A R T. XVII.

That all Prisoners of War, that were in *Ireland* the 28th of *September*, shall be set at Liberty on both Sides ; and the General promises to use his Endeavour, that those that are in *England* and *Flanders* shall be set at Liberty also.

A R T. XVIII.

The General will cause Provisions and Medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded Officers, Troopers, Dragoons, and Soldiers of the *Irish* Army, that cannot pass into *France* at the first Embarkment ;
and

and after they are cured, will order them Ships to pass into *France*, if they are willing to go.

A R T. XIX.

That at the signing hereof, the General will send a Ship express to *France*; and that besides he will furnish two Ships of those that are now in the River of *Limerick*, to transport two Persons into *France*, that are to be sent to give Notice of this Treaty; and that the Commanders of the said Ships shall have Orders to put ashore at the next Port of *France*, where they shall make.

A R T. XX.

That all those of the said Troops, Officers, and others, of what Character soever, that would pass into *France*, shall not be stoppt upon the Account of Debt or any other Pretext,

A R T. XXI.

If after signing this present Treaty, and before the Arrival of the Fleet, a *French* Packet Boat, or other Transport Ship, shall arrive from *France*, in any other Part of *Ireland*, the General will order a Pass port, not only for such as must go on Board the said Ships, but to the Ships to come to the nearest Port, to the Place where the Troops to be transported shall be quartered.

A R T. XXII.

That after the Arrival of the said Fleet, there shall be free Communication and Passage between it and the Quarters of the abovesaid Troops; and especially for all those that have Passes from the chief Commanders of the said Fleet, or from Monsieur *Tameron*, the Intendant.

A R T.

A R T. XXIII.

In Consideration of the present Capitulation, the two Towns of *Limerick* shall be delivered, and put into the Hands of the General, or any other Person he shall appoint at the Time and Days hereafter specified, *viz.* The *Irish* Town, except the Magazines and Hospital, on the Day of the signing of these present Articles; and as for the *English* Town, it shall remain together with the Island, and the free Passage of *Thomond-Bridge*, in the Hands of those of the *Irish* Army that are now in the Garrisons, or that shall hereafter come from the Counties of *Cork, Kerry, Clare, Sligo*, and other Places above-mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their Transportation.

A R T. XXIV.

And to prevent all Disorders that may happen between the Garrison that the General shall place in the *Irish* Town, which shall be delivered to him, and the *Irish* Troopers that shall remain in the *English* Town, and the Island, which they may do, until the Troops to be embarked on the first fifty Ships shall be gone for *France*, and no longer; they shall entrench themselves on both Sides, to hinder the Communication of the said Garrisons: And it shall be prohibited on both Sides to offer any Thing is offensive, and the Parties offending shall be punished on either Sides.

A R T. XXV.

That it shall be lawful for the said Garrison to march out all at once, or at different Times as they can be embarked, with Arms, Baggage, Drums beating, Match lighted at both Ends, Bullet in Mouth, Colours flying, six Brass Guns, such as the besieged will
chuse,

chuse, two Mortar Pieces, and half the Ammunition that is now in the Magazines of the said Place: And for this Purpose, an Inventory of all the Ammunition in the Garrison shall be made in the presence of any Person that the General shall appoint, the next Day after these present Articles shall be signed.

A R T. XXVI.

All the Magazines of Provisions shall remain in the Hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the Subsistence of those of the *Irish* Army that will pass into *France*: And if there shall not be sufficient in the Stores, for the Support of the said Troops, whilst they stay in this Kingdom, and are crossing the Seas, that upon giving up an Account of their Numbers, the General will furnish them with sufficient Provisions, at the King's Rates: and that there shall be a free Market at *Limerick*, and other Quarters where the said Troops shall be: And in Case any Provision shall remain in the Magazines of *Limerick*, when the Town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the Price deducted out of what is to be paid for the Provisions to be furnished to the Troops on Shipboard.

A R T. XXVII.

That there shall be a Cessation of Arms, at Land, as also at Sea, with respect to the Ships, whether *English*, *Dutch*, or *French*, designed for the Transportation of the said Troops, until they shall be returned to their respective Harbours; and that on both Sides they shall be furnished with sufficient Pass-ports both for Ships and Men: And if any Sea Commander, or Captain of a Ship, or any Officer, Trooper, Dragoon, Soldier, or any other Person, shall act contrary to this Cessation, the Persons so acting, shall be punished on either Side, and Satisfaction shall be made for the Wrong

Wrong that is done ; and officers shall be sent to the Mouth of the River of *Limerick*, to give notice to the Commanders of the *English* and *French* Fleets, of the present Conjunction, that they may observe the Cessation of Arms accordingly.

A R T. XXVIII.


That for the Security of the Execution of this present Capitulation, and of each Article, therein contained, the Besieged shall give the following Hostages ——— And the General shall give ———

A R T. XXIX.

If before this Capitulation is fully executed, there happens any Change in the Government, or Command in the Army, which is now commanded by General *Ginckle* ; all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these Articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any Account whatsoever.

OCTOB. 17. 1691.

BARON DE GINCKLE.

 The foregoing Articles are now Re-printed from a Copy by Authority in 1692.

T H E



THE
C A S E
OF THE
ROMAN CATHOLICKS,
OF
IRELAND,

*Humbly represented to both Houses of Parliament, 1724;
in Relation to a Bill now under Consideration, by
which the said Roman Catholicks conceive they are
very much aggrieved should it pass into a Law.*

TH O' the Case of those unfortunate People (in my humble Opinion) may not improperly be likened to the Roll of a Book, given to the Prophet *Ezekiel*, to eat (*Ezekiel Chap. 2. 9.*) which was written within and without; and there was written therein Lamentation, and Mourning, and Woe: *Qui erat Scriptus intus & foris; et Scriptæ erant in eo Lamentationes, et Carmen, et Væ.* Yet they comfort themselves very much upon this Consideration, that their Fate is in the Hands of noble Peers, and Honourable Senators, whose Goodness and Pity they had often experienced upon the like Occasion; and look upon it as the greatest of their Happiness, that our Constitution has set them as a Barrier between the Prince and the People, that the Prince might not oppress the People, nor the People invade the Prerogative of the Prince.

The

The CASE of the R. CATHOLICKS. 113

The Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*, when the Revolution happened, did conceive, and believe it to be undeniably true, that by the antient fundamental Laws, and Statutes of *England* and *Ireland*, the Imperial Crown of *England* was Monarchical and Hereditary, Lineally and Gradually descending by Inherent, Indefeasible and Unalienable Right of Primo Geniture, and Proximity of Blood, to the next true Heir, upon the Death or voluntary Abdication of the preceding lawful Monarch, without any intervening Formality, Call, Authority, Recognition, Coronation Oath or other Ceremony, whatsoever ; whether the Heir should happen to be at the time of such Death or Abdication, in, or out of the Kingdom, as it did to *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and First of *England*, on the Death of Queen *Elizabeth* ; and to *Charles* the Second residing in *Holland*, upon the Murder of the King his Royal Father, which verifies the Maxim in Law, affirming that the King never dies. *Rex nunquam moritur.*

The Roman Catholicks of *Ireland* Grounding their Belief upon these Laws and Statutes, thought that at least, they were bound in Conscience to keep the Faith and Allegiance, which they gave and swore to King *James* the Second. And therefore concluded, they could not transfer the same unto any other Prince so long as the said King *James* was alive ; notwithstanding the Revolution which happened in *England*, in the Year 1688. And the rather, that they believed the Abdication, which was voted (in the Convention of *London*) to have been made by the said King, was not voluntary ; Considering the Restraint he was under, and the Abuses offered to him, when he attempted to make his Escape. And they were further confirmed in his Belief, by the Letter which he wrote to the Lords of his Privy Council, when he arrived at *Caen*, in *France*, desiring them to propose safe Methods for his Return ; and giving among other Reasons for
his

his withdrawing, or leaving his Kingdoms, a saying which he had heard of his Royal Father ; *That the Prison and Grave of a Prince are not far asunder.*

Upon these Considerations, the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland* took up Arms in Defence of his Crown and Dignity, received himself in Person at their Head, and fought for him 'till they were reduced to Extremities by King *William's* Armies : And even then did not listen to any Terms of Peace, 'till they had King *James* his Consent upon his Departure from *Ireland*, to make the best Condition they could for themselves. Being then the next Campaign after the Battle of *Aughrim*, and surrender of *Galway*, Distressed at the Second Siege of *Limerick*, they capitulated with the Generals of King *William's* Troops and the Lords Justices of *Ireland* ; and obtained Articles commonly called the Articles of *Limerick*, upon valuable Considerations, viz. First, the avoiding the further Effusion of human Blood. Secondly, the Surrendering of the City of *Limerick*, and all the Garrison Towns in the Counties of *Cork*, of *Clare*, of *Mayo*, and of *Sligo*. For the Religious Performance of which Articles, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the same, the said Lords Justices and Generals, under the Sanction of publick Faith, solemnly plighted their Words and Honours, and promised to get the same ratified by King *William*, which they accordingly did, K. *William* ratifying them in Council under the Broad Seal of *England*.

Now by the first of these Articles, the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*, were to enjoy such Privileges in the Exercise of their Religion, as they did in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second ; in whose Reign it is manifest, the Roman Catholicks had Bishops, Ministers, Priests, and Religious Orders of their own Communion, to instruct and govern them in Religious Matters.

By the Second Article, all the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland* (except those who left the Kingdom, and submitted not to King *William's* Government) were to enjoy all their Real and Personal Estates, and all the Right, Titles and Interest, Privileges and Immunities, which they, and every or any of them, held or enjoyed in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second; in whose Reign it is also manifest that all the Roman Catholick Peers and Gentlemen of *Ireland*, and all others, who would or could purchase them, carried Arms; and that some of them were in Posts of Honours, as that of Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Posts of Profit and Trust. That their Lawyers, Attornies and Solicitors, practised their respective Callings, with the same Freedom and Liberty, as the Protestants. As also that the Roman Catholick Merchants, Dealers and Tradesmen, were Aldermen and Burgessees in Cities, and Freemen in Towns and Corporations over all the Kingdom.

By the Ninth Article, the Oath to be administered to such Roman Catholicks as submitted to King *William*, was the Oath of Allegiance and no other.

In confidence of this sacred Tye of publick Faith, solemnly given to them under the Hands and Seals of the said Lords Justices and Generals, the said Roman Catholicks surrendered the City of *Limerick*, and all the Towns and Garrisons then in their Possession, and have ever since to this Day, lived peaceably and quietly under the Government of the respective Kings and Queens of *Great Britain*, without ever attempting to molest or disturb, or raise any Rebellion or tumult, in it, as is evident to all the World.

But how well the said Articles, and this sacred Tye have been kept to them; or rather how manifestly they have been broken in upon, and violated, is a Theme, which

which the Roman Catholicks cannot with Tears of Blood sufficiently Lament, *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ!*

It would be too tedious to recite all the Acts of Parliament since made in this Kingdom to that Purpose; Let it suffice to say, that by Laws since made, all and every Roman Catholick of the Kingdom (bating a few Lords, and three or four Colonels of the Troops that were actually in *Limerick* and *Galway* at the Time they surrendered (are disabled under severe Penalties to carry Arms offensive or defensive, for their own, or Defence of their Houses and Goods, other than Pitch-forks, or such Instruments as the Peasants Till the Earth with; nay, many Gentlemen who formerly made a considerable Figure in the Kingdom, are now a-days when they walk with Canes or Sticks only in their Hands, insulted by Men armed with Swords and Pistols, who of late rose from the very Dregs of the People. *Servi Dominati sunt nobis! Lamenta Jeremia*

All Roman Catholick Lawyers, Attornies, and Solicitors, are disabled to practice their respective Callings, except they take the Oath of *Abjuration*, the Oath of *Supremacy*, and the *Test*, that is, become Protestants. So that of about an hundred Roman Catholick Lawyers and Attornies, that attended the Courts of *Dublin*, and in the Country, not one of them is allowed to get a Morsel of Bread by those Studies upon which they spent their Youth and their Time.

All the Roman Catholicks of the Kingdom in general, without any Exception or Saving, are disabled to purchase any Lands or Tenements, to take Mortgages for Security of Money, or even to take any Lease or Farm exceeding the Term of thirty or forty Years, and that at no less than Two Thirds of the improved Rent. So that all Encouragement for natural Industry is taken away from them, and are left

under an impossibility of ever being other than Slaves. By the same Laws, their Children tho' never so profligate or undutiful to their Parents, upon their becoming Protestants, are Encouraged to Compel their Parents to give them a Maintainance, such as the Lord Chancellor, for the Time being shall think fit. And that all Heirs apparent of such Parents upon their becoming Protestants, make their Parents Tenants for Life. So that the Fathers, cannot, may not provide for their other dutiful Children, or other extraordinary Exigencies of Life. Now if this be not encouraging Children to transgress God's Law, I own I know not what is, And will not the great Legislator of Heaven require this at Men's Hands?

By another Law, all the Registered Roman Catholick Priests of this Kingdom, are required to take the Oath of Abjuration by a certain Day, under the Penalty of being reputed Regulars, and punished as such. And all the Laity, without Exception to be summoned thereunto, and upon their Refusal the Third Time, to be guilty of a Premunire, which is, Forfeiture and Confiscation of all their Real and Personal Estate, and perpetual Imprisonment. Notwithstanding that they had stipulated by the Articles of *Limerick*; and had the publick Faith given them, that no other Oath but that of Allegiance should be required of them, which Oath they were always ready to take.

By another Law, all Burgeesses and Aldermen of Cities, Freemen, and Masters of Corporations, all Men bearing Civil Offices, Charges or Employments, above the Degree of petty Constables, are required to take the Oath of Abjuration, the Oath of Supremacy, and the Test, so that, at present, there is not one Freeman or Master of any Corporation, nor of any other the least Charge (bating that of a petty Constable) of the Roman Catholick Religion in all the Kingdom;

dom; neither are any of the Tradesmen or Shopkeepers of this Religion suffered to work at their respective Trades, or Sell their Goods in any of the Cities in *Ireland*, except they pay exorbitant Taxes which they call Quarterage to the respective Masters of their Corporations; and upon Refusal of paying the same, (because there is no Law for it) they are sure to be summoned to take the Oath of Abjuration, in order to frighten them to a Compliance. Add to this, that as often as *England* or *Ireland* have been alarmed by the Attempts made by the *French* or *Spaniards*, or by the Pretender upon *England* or *Scotland*, the Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom were sure to be taken up to have the Arms which the few of them had, taken from them; to have their Houses, and the Houses of Men who had no Arms, rifled for more; to have their Saddle, and even their Draught and Plough Horses taken from them, and kept whilst the Alarm continued. And had these Foreigners, or the Pretender succeeded in their Attempts, the Lord of Heaven knows what should be our Fate! So that what * *Tertullian* writes in his Apology for the Christians of his own Time, is, with some little Alteration, applicable to the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland*. But for as much as the refusing to take the Oath of Abjuration is the Pretence of all the Grievances and Oppressions under which they Groan, I shall beg leave to dwell a little upon this Argument, and doubt not to make it appear, that it is, but a Pretence, and no just Cause.

By the Oath of Allegiance all Persons whatsoever who take the same are bound in Conscience, and by the sacred Tye of calling God to bear Witness of the

* Si Tiberis redundat; Si Nilus non æstuat, Si Pluvialis, Si Fames. Si Gladius, Statim Christiani (*Romani*) ad Leones.

Sincerity of their Hearts (as all the Divines, Legislators and Lawyers in the Christian World agree) not to have a Hand directly or indirectly in any Plot or Conspiracy against the Prince or Government, to whom they take this Oath, and to discover to him or them, or to some of their Magistrates, all such Plots or Conspiracies, as they shall have any Knowledge of; Yea, and to be aiding and assisting with their Lives and Fortunes in suppressing them in their respective Stations and Qualifications. Can their be any Thing more Sacred to bind Men's Conscience? Can the Oath of Abjuration do more? If Men break this Oath, will they not break all other Oaths whatsoever? Is not any Government, the most Tyrannical, or the most unjustly acquired in the World, safe under such a Tye, from Men whose Love or Affections they suspect, if this Oath be kept? Or if it be not, what other Oath will they keep?

As to the Oath of Abjuration, there is a vast difference between it and this: For there are some Clauses in it, to the Truth of which, I think no Roman Catholick, at least I am convinced I cannot in Conscience Swear; I shall single out three. First, I am required by this Oath to Swear that I believe in my Conscience the late King *James*, or the Pretender, have no Right or Title whatsoever to the Crown of *England*: Now, I am so far a Stranger to the Right and Titles of Kings and Princes (and I am sure most of my Profession, if not all, in this Kingdom are so) that I would not take such an Oath to any King, Prince or Potentate in *Europe*, with respect to all such Pretenders to their Crowns as they should require me to abjure. For to be able to swear it, I must have sure and certain Motives to ground my Belief upon, else I perjure myself. But this is what I could never yet find in any Thing that I read, or from any Person with whom I conversed. Nay many Divines, and Persons of Noe
and

and Learning of the Church of *England*, and of the Church of *Scotland*, and *Ireland* by Law established, have believed and do still believe, that neither the late King *James*, nor the Pretender, have forfeited their Right to the Crown of *England*. And I am sure all the Divines and Lawyers in *France*, *Spain* and *Italy*, are of the same Opinion. How can I then, or any other Roman Catholick in this Kingdom, ground my Belief, so as to swear that he has not? But whether he has, or has not, I am no Ways concerned at taking the Oath of Allegiance, which the Law of Nature and the common Practice of all Nations, allows me to take with a safe Conscience to any Prince who conquers me, and the Country of which I am a Member, tho' he be never so great a Tyrant or Usurper, even to the Zar of *Muscovy*, or the Grand Turk. But surely I could not swear, that I believed King *George* hath no Right to the Crown of *England* or *Ireland*, should either of these conquer me. In a Word, what I swear in the Oath of Allegiance is in my Power to keep; that is, not to be in any Plot or Conspiracy against King *George* or his Government. Or if I hear of any to discover it. And if I do not I perjure myself: But it is not in my Power to found a Belief by which I should Swear to the Truth of this Clause in the Oath of Abjuration, and therefore I think I cannot in Conscience take it.

Secondly, there is another Clause in the Oath of Abjuration, requiring Men to Swear they will maintain the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line, &c. Now, how any Roman Catholick, continuing such, can in Conscience take such an Oath, I own I do not understand. For by this Clause I am sworn (should I take the said Oath) to withdraw my Obedience from (and the Allegiance I swore before to) King *George* and his Successors, in Case he or his Successors should become Roman Catholics: Nor is this

an imaginary Case: For what was, may be. The King of *Navar*, *Henry* the IVth was once a Protestant, and became Roman Catholick. The Duke of *Saxony*, now King of *Poland*, was a Protestant, but is now a Roman Catholick. And to come nearer Home King *Charles* the Second, and King *James* his Brother were both Protestants, and became Roman Catholicks. Now if it should so happen to the Royal Family in *Great-Britain* in Time to come, and that they should embrace the Religion which I profess: Could I in Conscience, violate my Oath of Allegiance to them, and to my Power be Aiding and Assisting in Dethroning them for doing that which it is in my Opinion and Belief they ought to do? No surely!

I would willingly beg those Gentlemen who press us to take this Oath, to turn the Tables, and allow me for Argument Sake, to put a Case, Suppose a Roman Catholick Prince sitting on his Throne in *England*, should get an Oath framed by Act of Parliament, in which there should be a Clause requiring all the Subjects to Swear they would maintain the Succession in the Roman Catholick Line: Could any honest Protestant take this Oath with a safe Conscience? If not, I beseech you, Gentlemen, practise that Golden Rule, *Do as you would be done by*. The third Clause I remarked in the Oath, runs thus, *And I make this Recognition, Declaration, &c. heartily, freely, and willingly*. I shall only remark upon this Clause, that to my certain Knowledge, many a Man as well Protestant as Catholick, have taken the Oath of Abjuration with aching Hearts, and no other Way willingly than as a Merchant or Sailor in a Storm, throws his Goods over Board into the Sea, to save his Life. Now, whether such Men do not perjure themselves, (since the Laws of God require we should not only part with our Goods, but even lay down our Lives rather than Sin against Conscience) I leave the World to Judge.

By this Time, I hope it is pretty plain, that no Roman Catholick can, with a safe Conscience, take the Oath of Abjuration; as also that their Obedience and Fidelity to the Government, is as well secured by the Oath of Allegiance as by It. But let us suppose that the taking of the Oath of Abjuration, is a further Security of the Subject's Fidelity; what have the Roman Catholicks of *Ireland* to do with that? They laid down their Arms, and gave up their Garrison Towns and Cities, with their Stores and Ammunition, upon the solemn Promise, and under the Sanction of publick Faith, ratified by Royal Authority, that no other Oath should be required of them but that of Allegiance. Is there no Regard to be had for that publick Faith and Law of Nations, which were held so sacred by the very Heathens, that they used to denounce the Wrath and Vengeance of their false Gods, against such as violated them.-----*Si Genus Humanum et Mortali Temnitis arma at Sperate Deos Memores fandi atque Nefandi.* Enid. Virg. Lib. I.

Well may then any General, who comes to besiege a Town, offer their own Terms to the Besieged, (for so he will be sure to carry it without the Loss of a Man) and break them when the Besieged are in his Power, if he can dispense with these sacred Tyes. Well may Men break their Vows, Oaths and Promises, when it is convenient for them, if publick Faith may be broken upon any Consideration. Well might the noble Roman, *Attilus Regulus* stay at *Rome*, and not go back to *Carthage*, where he was sure to be put to a cruel Death, as he was; could he think he might dispense with the Promise he made to return, in Case he succeeded not in his Embassy. In a Word, loose that sacred Band and all the World will be a *Chaos*, an *Hanceldama*, or a Field of Blood.

King *William* of happy Memory had other Notions of

of the publick Faith, when he went with his Army to besiege *Limerick*. He offered the Roman Catholicks Conditions; which they did not think good enough, tho' they were ready to submit, and lay down their Arms, had he condescended to give them better Terms. He besieged the Town in Form, made a large Breach in the Wall, and assaulted it three several Times; But could not carry the Place: Would not his Majesty then give the Roman Catholicks any Terms they could in Reason desire, rather than suffer the Check of being obliged to raise the Siege, as he was, if he thought he might in Honour or Conscience break his Promise, when the Besieged were in his Power? So far from it that during his Reign, he did not suffer the least Attempt to be made upon the Articles which his Generals made the Year following with the Roman Catholick Army at *Limerick*, of which we have a pregnant Instance. For in the 3^d Year of his Reign, when an Act of Parliament passed in *England*, intituled an Act for the abrogating the Oath of Supremacy, and appointing other Oaths, requiring all Officers, Magistrates, Lawyers, &c. in *Ireland* to take the same, there was a saving for such Roman Catholicks as were entitled to the Benefit of the Articles of *Limerick*; and it was expressly provided by the said Act that they should be obliged to take the Oath of Allegiance and no other.

But alas! this great Monarch was no sooner laid up with his Fathers, but the Roman Catholicks began to feel the dire Effects of some Men's Spleen. I say some Men: For God Almighty be thanked, We have always had many worthy Getlemen of great Honour and Integrity in the House of Commons, and many also in the House of Lords, without whose Help we would have been long since consumed. But our Misfortune hitherto was, that, as every Thing in Parliament is carried by a Majority of Votes; and those, who did not wish us well, being generally the greater in Number,

ber, there was scarce a Session of Parliament in this Kingdom, during the Reign of Queen *Anne*, in which one Point or other has not been invaded of the Articles and Conditions upon which we submitted to King *William*, and which are in themselves no more than what was natural for Subjects and Free born Men to expect: Nay much less than our neighbouring Nation the *Scots* obtained upon their submitting to the Crown of *England*. But there is this Difference; that not one Tittle of the Conditions promised to these, was ever yet violated; whereas there is scarce an Article of the Conditions upon which the Roman Catholicks submitted, but has been broken by severe Laws. And yet we challenge all the World to shew us one Instance in which we have not demeaned ourselves, as dutiful and as loyal Subjects as the *Scots*, if not more; so that it is plain the Design of those our Enemies, who had no Regard to the sacred Bands by which all Nations are in a manner tyed together, was to destroy and exterminate us from off the Face of the Earth. But I would beg of them to consider, that there is a God in Heaven, an Avenger of Wrongs, a God of Vengeance to those who violate publick Faith; a Crime which never fails to bring visible Judgments from Heaven, especially when it is Publick and National, as may be manifestly seen both in Sacred and Prophane History.

The *Gibeonites* (*Josh. 9*) tho' by Fraud and Craft, prevailed upon *Joshua* to give them his Faith for their Lives, which he and his Successors made good to the Days of King *Saul*, who destroyed these Wretches with Fire and Sword; for which in the Days of King *David* there came a visible Judgment upon the *Israelites* from God, whose Wrath could not be appeased but by the Blood of the Seven Sons of *Saul*. 2. *Sam. 2*.

Antiochus Epibanes gave publick Faith } *Josephus*
to the *Jews*, which he broke. } *De.*
And

And the Catastrophe of him and his Family is too well known to need to be here recited. The *Carthaginians* made often Peace with the *Romans*, and as often broke it without just Cause; for which a Decree was made by the Senate in *Rome*, in these Words, *Delenda est Carthago, Delendi Fidi fragi Peni*, which was accordingly put in Execution. It were endless to enumerate all the Instances of this Nature in History; I shall therefore content myself with two more. *Ladislaus*, King of *Hungary* made a Truce with *Amurath* the Third, and without any just Cause broke it, and in the Day of Battle, when the *Turks* were defeated, and put to Flight, *Amurath*, seeing his Troops broken and running away, pulled out of his Bosom, the Writing which contained the Articles of the Truce, lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, and addressed himself to the God of the Christians, praying him to revenge the Wrong done to his Name by the Christians in violating their Oath and the publick Faith. He had not well finished these Words, when all of a sudden, his Troops rallied, attacked the Christians and utterly defeated them; killing many thousands of them, together with their King, on the Field of Battle.

Lewis the 13th King of *France*, by the famous Edict of *Nants*, gave the *Hugonets* the free Exercise of their Religion, but *Lewis* the 14th broke that Edict, and banished, at least, an hundred thousand of them. When this great Prince was in the height of his Glory, was the Terror of *Europe*, and thought the World too little for him: When the very Names of *Musqueteres*, *Gendarms*, *Mason du Roy*, struck a Terror into their Enemies, these Formidable, Invincible Troops, all of a sudden, lost their Courage, turned their Backs to the Enemy, and received at the Battle of *Hocksted*, such an Overthrow, attended with the Loss of two other great Battles, *Ramelies* and *Turin*, which brought this haughty Prince and his People so low, that he was

glad to sue in an humble Manner, and to accept of a Peace, upon almost the very Terms his Enemies prescribed him; and yet the Vengeance of Heaven did not cease to pursue him, (in all Probability for the Breach of publick Faith, tho' with his own Subjects) 'till his Son, his two Grandsons, and two Great Grandsons were swept away almost in one Year, so that his Family (tho' in Appearance the best stocked with a numerous Issue of any Prince in *Europe*) was reduced in his own Sight, to a single Infant of five Years old, and his Kingdom to so much Misery and Desolation, both of Pestilence and Famine as is hardly to be expressed. And will not the Vengeance of Heaven (think you) pursue those who so flagrantly broke the publick Faith, solemnly given to the Catholicks of *Ireland*, now indeed, honest, innocent and loyal Subjects to King *George*, but then, had good Reasons, as they conceived, not to submit 'till they were conquered? Is the Hand of the Lord shortened since that Time? Is He less Zealous of his Honour now, than in those Days? Or has He any Exception of Persons, so as not to punish all Nations alike, when equally guilty of the same Sins? No, but he is patient, and long Suffering, gives Sinners Time to think of their Ways, and waits either for their Amendment, Or the filling up the Measure of their Sins. *Super tribus Sceleribus Juda & super Quatuor non Convertam eum, Amos. 2. 4.* And who can tell but the Bill now under Consideration, should it pass into a Law, is the filling up the Measure of the Sins of those Gentlemen who have so often before violated the publick Faith? It seems indeed as far as human Reason can penetrate into God's Secrets, to be so. For it is calculated for the utter Ruin and Destruction of all the Roman Catholicks in the Kingdom, Notwithstanding the publick Faith given them at *Limerick*, of enjoying all the Liberties, Privileges, Immunities and Freedom, as well in Civil as Religious Matters, which they enjoyed in the

Reign

Reign of King *Charles* the Second. And the well gounded Hopes they flattered themselves with living easy, and quiet for the future, as they have done since his Majesty's Accession to the Throne. But God in his Mercy grant that the innocent worthy Members of the Honourable House of Commons, or the noble Peers of the House of Lords be not involved with those Gentlemen who do not love us, in a common Calamity as it usually happens: The People being generally punished for the Sins of their Rulers. Witness the Sins of *David*, light, indeed, in Appearance. The Numbering only of his Subjects, which was, however, punished with the Destruction of Seventy Thousand of his People in three Days, 2 *Sam.* 24.

This Bill, this fatal Bill! provides, that no *Roman Catholick* Priest, under the Penalty of High Treason, shall say Mass in the Kingdom; Except those who have taken the Oath of Abjuration (a manifest Violation of the Ninth Article of the Capitulation of *Limerick*) and that no Man, under the Penalty of Felony, without Benefit of Clergy, shall Aid, Assist, or Harbour any such Priest, and to make sure Work, it provides also, that the Informer of such Priest, or Layman, Assisting, Aiding or Harboursing him, shall have an hundred Pounds Reward, and another hundred Pounds are to be given to the Prosecutor of such Priest (or Layman Aiding or Assisting the Priest) in order to his Conviction.

Now it is certain that of Eleven Hundred *Roman Catholick* Priests, who were Registred pursuant to an Act of Parliament to that Purpose, not above thirty-three Priests ever took the Oath of Abjuration, and of these thirty three one half are now dead; And of the Registred Priests more than two Thirds. What shall so many Thousand of *Roman Catholicks* in every Province of the Kingdom do then, to serve God in their

their own Way? (I beg I may not be understood, as if I intended to magnify their Numbers to give an Umbrage to the Government: For I say nothing but what every Protestant in the Nation knows as well as myself, and very well knows also, that they are in no Capacity to molest, and give any Disturbance; and I dare engage they have no Intention or Design so to do) what shall they do when sick or dying? To send for a Priest (if any can be had, for they must all quit the Kingdom, or expose themselves to inevitable Death) it's to themselves certain Death, considering the Greatness of the Reward offered to the Informer, who doubtless will be one of their own Domesticks. O unspeakable Cruelty! O Faith of Men! Surely to treat them as the *French King* did the *Hugonets* would be much more tolerable; that is, to banish them the Kingdom, and to allow them a reasonable Time to sell their Estates, and dispose of their Effects, as he did.

To pass by many other severe Clauses in this Bill, I beg Leave to offer my humble Opinion, that it is unpolitick, and against the Interest of the Government, that such a Bill should pass into a Law.

First, It is unpolitick to prosecute the *Roman Catholics* in this Kingdom; when the King is labouring to get a Toleration for Protestants from *Roman Catholic Princes*.

Secondly, It is unpolitick, because it will drain the Kingdom of the greatest Part of the People; especially of that Part which we call in Scripture Phrase, *Herbers of Wood, and Drawers of Water*. For if this Bill passes into a Law, all the *Estated Roman Catholics*, all the Merchants, Dealers, Shop-keepers, all the Tradesmen and Farmers, with their respective Clans, will dispose of their Effects and quit the Kingdom, as will also the little People who are able to purchase

chafe their Passage; and such as are not, will become Thieves and Robbers, having no Clergymen to teach or instruct, or to keep them within Bounds. And I may very well presume there are few Protestants in the Kingdom, who do not know that the *Roman Catholicks* big and little taken together are more than half the number of the People of *Ireland*. Besides all these, at least their Children may be trained up to Arms abroad, and furnish the Pretender with a numerous Army, who doubtless will have Stomach enough to recover their native Country, and vindicate the Wrongs which they conceive to have been done to themselves and their Parents. And here I cannot but reflect upon what I have often heard the greatest and wisest Statesmen in *France* say, that the *French King* never made a more unpolitick Step than that of banishing the *Hugonets*: For they were the most fierce, the most desperate, and the most prodigal of their Lives of all other Enemies, during the whole Course of his Wars.

Thirdly, It is unpolitick to Dispeople a Nation, which must of Necessity be supply'd by Foreigners and Strangers; how else shall we Plough our Land, Reap or Thresh our Corn, draw Stones, or Water, &c. Now it is not to be imagined, we can be furnished with a sufficient Number for such Purposes, otherwise than by inviting all the *Hugonets*, or *French Refugees* dispersed over most Countries of *Europe*. These indeed we may have: But then they are and will be still *Hugonets* or *Calvinists*, will were Swords, and carry Arms; and tho' they will readily take all the Oaths, which our Laws require, yet still will be of a different Religion from that which is by Law Established, and will endeavour to propagate it. And who knows, what so great a Body of People trained up to Arms, and fierce in their Nature, may in the Second or Third Generation attempt upon the Natives?

This

This Reflection, I take the Liberty to borrow from the Answer, which a noble Peer of our Country (the late Earl of *Drogheda*) made to my Lord *Galway*, who left no Stone unturn'd, nor no Method or refined Politicks unpractis'd, when he sat at the Helm the first Time, to get a Bill pass'd, by which the *Roman Catholics* should be obliged to take the Oath of Supremacy. And who, observing that most of the Peers were averse to any such Cruelty, began to closet them one by one, in order to extort a Promise from them to be for passing the Bill: This noble Peer being sent for to this Purpose, My Lord *Galway* address'd him in this Manner: *I do not question (my Lord) said he, but your Lordship will be for passing this good Bill; for by it, the Protestant Religion will be strengthened, and we shall get rid of those Vermin the Papists.* My Lord, I should be very glad (answered the Earl of *Drogheda*) to see the Protestant Religion strengthened: But what shall we do, my Lord, continued he, for Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water; for Labouring Men to Plough our Land, thresh our Corn, &c. Take no thought for that, my Lord, (replied my Lord *Galway*) for I give you my Word and Honour, I will bring thirty thousand good Protestant Families into the Kingdom in three Months after the Bill is passed. Thirty thousand Protestant Families! for that very Reason, rejoined the Earl, I will be against the Bill: For there is not one of them but wears a Sword, and thinks himself as good a Gentleman as I am; and possibly would offer to fight me, should I attempt to find Fault with him: And for any Thing I know, such a Number would in thirty or forty Years increase, so as to drive the Natives out of the Land.

Lastly, It is against the Interest of the Government; For it is well known, that the *Roman Catholick Merchants and Dealers* carry on more than half the Trade of the Kingdom, and pay more Custom and Duty for Imported Goods, than all the Protestants in it. Now if

this Bill should pass, all these Merchants and Dealers, would be necessitated to leave the Kingdom, to the great Diminution of the Revenue; and God knows in how many Years this could be retrieved, if ever.

This is the Lamentable Case, Right Reverend Fathers in God, Right Honourable Lords and most excellent Senators, of the unfortunate *Roman Catholicks of Ireland*; who would have dyed to the last Man, with their Swords in their Hands, could they imagine that the publick Faith, so solemnly given them, should be violated, or themselves reduced without Cause, to so intolerable Servitude: Their Behaviour being so even, their Demeanor so peaceable, and their Loyalty so untainted, that they challenge the worst of their Enemies from the Day they submitted to this, to find the least Flaw or Blemish in their Conduct. Nay, the only Thing I could ever hear them charged with, is, that their Hearts and Affections are not for the Government, and that there are a great many Priests come off late from Foreign Countries into this Kingdom.

To the first of these Articles, I shall beg Leave to return the same Answer, as the General of the *Viertes* did to the *Roman Consul* (*Titus Livius*.) This General being asked by the Consul, (after having concluded a Peace the fourth or fifth Time with him and his People) how long would that last Peace hold? Answered; so long as you use us well. Be pleased, most excellent Lords and noble Senators, to give us the same Liberty and Freedom as our Fellow-Subjects have, to use our Industry, and enjoy the Fruits thereof: let no Distinction be made, but of good and bad, and I will engage the Government will have our Hearts, our Affections, and our Hands. For there need no great Stock of Reason to conclude, that Men who live easy and happy, under any Government, will be such Fools, as to be easily induced to exchange a Certainty for an Uncertainty.

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certainty. And he must be a very great Stranger to the Constitutions of *Germany* and *Holland*, who thinks that *Roman Catholics* and *Protestants* that are equally well used, cannot be equally Zealous, and equally well affected to the Government under which they live.

In Answer to the Second, I shall only ask the same Question, as *Abraham* did of God Almighty. *Gen. 18. 23.* Wilt thou also destroy the Righteous, with the Wicked: Must the civil and quiet Priests who have lived these many Years in the Country, be destroyed for the Indiscretion of other Priests whose coming they knew nothing of; nor, if they had, was it in their Power to prevent: No, they hope better Things from the Mildness and Lenity of the present Government; and flatter themselves, that as they have been overlooked since the Accession of his sacred Majesty King *George* to the Throne (notwithstanding the Severity of the Laws made against them in the Reign of Queen *Anne*) and enjoyed without any Trouble or Molestation, the free Exercise of their Religion, which they gratefully accept with all Thankfulness, and for which they continually pray for the Blessings of Heaven upon his Majesty and his Magistrates: So the same Mildness and Lenity will still overlook and preserve them; and therefore most humbly submit themselves and their Case to the Wisdom of the present Parliament.

F I N I S.



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